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# THE CHINANTEC

REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND  
SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

VOL. I. - THE CHINANTEC  
AND THEIR HABITAT

BY

**BERNARD BEVAN**



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**Publicación No. 24**

**1938**

*F. Horcasitas*  
*México D.F. Enero 1956*

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Libros y Revistas  
de Fernando Horcasitas Pimentel.  
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Agosto de 1989.



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**BIBLIOTECA LUIS GONZALEZ**

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60688

No. Clasi

305.897274 BEV-ch V.1

Autor

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Fecha		Usuario	Entregó
Salida	Entrega		

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## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN

### CHINANTEC REGION

#### FOREWORD.

*This brief survey of the Chinantec and the succeeding study of the language are the outcome of five journeys recently made to the somewhat remote district in the State of Oaxaca occupied by the Chinantec Indians.*

*At Easter, 1934, Mr. Robert J. Weitlaner and Miss Irmgard Weitlaner paid a brief visit to the Valle Nacional, their itinerary including Chiltepec, Jacqtepec, Valle Nacional and Ozumazin.*

*Vocabularies of the language were taken in some of these villages and during the Christmas and New-Year holiday, 1934-35, Mr. Weitlaner, to gather ethnographical and linguistic material spent four days at Chiltepec.*

*So promising did the outlook appear in this region that it was then resolved to undertake an expedition of more ambitious scope and covering a much larger area than previously contemplated.*

*With this object in view, Miss Weitlaner, Mr. Bernard Bevan and Mr. J. A. Rickards set out from Tuxtepec, (entrance to the Valle Nacional) on January 24th, 1935, and lived among the Chinantec for exactly one month.*

*They traversed the Sierra Madre and the entire Chinantec area under review, and made their exit by Villa-Alta, after which,—by somewhat devious route, passing through Mije as well as (Zapotec territory— they finally arrived at Oaxaca forty-three days after leaving Tuxtepec.*

*The route taken on this expedition passed through Chiltepec and Ozumazin, thence across the valley of the River Cajones to Tepinapa, Jocotepec, Lachixola, Lacova and Lalana. The party then returned to Tepinapa and struck South to Toabela, Petlapa and Lovani. Another interesting Crinantec village, Teotalcingo, being inaccessible from here with horses though only a few miles away, had to be relegated till afterwards.*

*From Villa-Alta, reached from Lovani in two days by way of the Zapotec pueblos of Yezelala, Yatsona and Temascalapa, the party rode on to Choapam, climbed the high mountain pass to Teotalcingo and, skirting the lofty peak of Zempoaltepec, ultimately reached Oaxaca by way of Totontepec, Yalalag and Mitla.*



## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

*Finding that even this protracted sojourn among the Chinantec had not satiated their desire to see more of a tribe which from the very outset had won their affection and had accorded them a friendly reception beyond all expectations, a final expedition was planned and, lasting two weeks, was undertaken a little later in the year by Mr. and Miss Weitlaner, Mr. Bevan and Mr. and Mrs. James A. Sturken.*

*This party entered the Chinantec area from Playa-Vicente (Venustiano Carranza) <sup>(1)</sup> in the State of Vera-Cruz; revisited Lalana, Lacova and Lachixola, where rather brief stops had been made before, and took in El Arenal, certain other Chinantec rancherias and Sochiapam, an interesting Zapotec village, down on the coastal plain.*

*These four expeditions had confined themselves to the Southern and Eastern Chinantec region:—the area at present under review. The Western Chinantec remained unexplored. However, it was felt that no review of "part" of the tribe could be adequate without some knowledge of the "whole" and it was therefore decided to make yet another expedition, covering the Northern and Western area.*

*On January 11th, 1936, Mr. Bevan, Miss Weitlaner, Miss Louisa Stevens and Miss Carmen Ostlund set out from Cuicatlan with six horses to traverse the Chinantla from West to East. After passing the Cuicatec village of Concepcion Papalo, they entered the Chinantec area at San Pedro Sochiapam <sup>(2)</sup> and reached the important village of Usila via Zapotitlan, Quetzalapa, Tlacoatzintepec and Mayultianguis. From Usila they turned South through Tlatopusco, San Antonio del Barrio, Tepetotutla and over the formidable Cerro de Hueso into a dry region wholly unlike the rest of the Chinantla and where that rare and terrible disease the blindness known as Onchocercosis is rampant. In this region they visited the village of San Francisco de las Llagas, Santa Maria de Nieves, Totomoxtla, San Juan Quiotepec and the hitherto mysterious San Pedro Yolox,—not to be found on any maps, but known to have been once a Chinantec reinado. From here, by passing over the Cerro de Cuasimulco, probably the highest point in the Chinantla, the party gained the Valle Nacional and finally, on February 11th, reached Tuxtepec. In all, some 225 miles were covered on this journey.*

*Only a bare half dozen Chinantec villages now remain unvisited. Of these, Ojitlan and Atlatlauca may prove important; the others, San Antonio Analco near Tlacoatzintepec, Zautla near Sochiapam, and Comaltepec and Maninaltepec in the dry Yolox district are probably of no special interest.*

*Our expeditions were greatly facilitated by letters of recommendation to the Municipal Presidents from Mr. I. Marquina of the Department of Archaeology in the Secretaria de Educacion. Both to him and to Mr. Eduardo No-*

(1).—Reached by motor-truck from the station of Villa-Azueta on the Vera-Cruz.—Isthmus of Tehuantepec railroad.

(2).—Not to be confused with the Zapotec Sochiapam mentioned on the previous page.

## FOREWORD.

guera we take this opportunity of recording our most sincere thanks and appreciation.

We should also like to record our deep gratitude to Dr. Caso and Ingeniero Pedro Sanchez, through whose kind offices the Playa-Vicente expedition received financial assistance from the Pan-American Institution which graciously paid all the expense of Miss Irmgard Weitlaner.

Regarding the actual compilation of this work, we wish particularly to offer our thanks to Don Federico Gomez de Orozco, who put his valuable library at our disposal and kindly furnished us with historical material of no little interest.

A word of gratitude must also be reserved for Dr. Reko, through whose enthusiastic descriptions, our interest in this region and our affection for the Chinantec were first aroused.

Finally, we cannot forget the many kindnesses and the unfailingly reception granted to us by all the Municipal Presidents, the Municipal Secretaries, the schoolmaster, and in many cases the entire population of the villages through which we passed. Especially do we thank our informants, who worked tirelessly to satisfy our curiosity and to make the vocabularies as complete as possible.

The short visits to the Valle Nacional were made upon hired horses, and the Playa-Vicente excursion upon hired mules. The long expedition to Oaxaca was made upon (and beside!) horses bought at Chiltepec with the assistance of Mr. Heinrich Prang, who again befriended us at the conclusion of our final trek.

At Chiltepec, we shall always retain another good and faithful friend, our "slave" Antonio Gutierrez, who accompanied us on two expeditions and covered on foot the greater part of the 350 mile journey from Tuxtepec to Oaxaca. Antonio took an especially keen and unselfish delight in amusing the Indians, thus greatly helping us to win their confidence, while, without his ministrations, it would have been difficult for our four exhausted horses ever to have reached the end of the journey.

---

The purpose of these expeditions was twofold: general research, both ethnographical and linguistic. Ethnographical research among the Chinantec was necessary because, owing to its remote location and the difficulties of access, the tribe was scarcely known even by name and no information whatever concerning its customs, beliefs, mode of life and handicrafts was forthcoming. The linguistic research fulfills a still more urgent need since, for lack of data, the relationship of the Chinantec language to the languages spoken by neighboring or other tribes has not been determined and, apart from mere guesswork, its proper classification among the indigenous tongues of Mexico has not been ventured.

Another issue involved,—and ready incentive to any such expedition—was the attempted re-discovery of the mysterious Guatinicame, frequently mentioned in the 16th and early 17th centuries, but apparently not encountered.



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ered in the flesh for several hundred years. Despite this great lapse of time it did not seem unreasonable to suppose they were still alive and speaking their own language right in the midst of the Chinantec. In the State of Oaxaca such things are not impossible,—as witness the survival of the Amusgos and Triques, while the survival of the Guatinicamame appears far more feasible than that of the Ocuiltecos, believed extinct for centuries, and re-discovered by Mr. Weitlaner in a well-developed region within 50 miles of the City of Mexico!

Although Mr. Weitlaner here contributes a short chapter dealing with this enigma, we had better confess immediately that no success attended our efforts. The Guatinicamame remain as mysterious as before and indeed we have come to doubt whether, as an independent tribe, they really existed!

A vast amount of ethnographical material was collected on these expeditions, a few ancient sites were inspected, and on the first four journeys comprehensive vocabularies were taken in ten villages, from which, together with the vocabularies taken in seven villages on the last expedition, it is hoped the relationship—or with more probability the "lack" of relationship!—between the Chinantec and other languages of Oaxaca will be definitely established.

Some noteworthy discoveries were made concerning the medieval religious life of the Chinantec, or rather in its survival practically unimpaired. There was found among the tribe a number of ancient manuscripts,—books of Christian Doctrine and festival services—all written in Chinantec, (with Latin or Spanish headings), by or under the aegis of the old Dominican missionaries. And more remarkable is the fact that these manuscripts, some of which date from the early 17th century, are not preserved merely for sentimental reasons or treasured as "antiques" and revered as the possession of ancestors, but have been copied and re-copied within quite recent years, and are still widely used in the church services, which, to this day, are largely intoned in Chinantec.

But for our knowledge of the tremendous influence of the Dominicans in this region, it would seem Ghilbertian if not paradoxical to find these books read by cantores or lay-readers often having no command of Spanish,—and quite unable to read this language.

However, no discoveries of this sort can compare with that made at Lachixola on February 9th, namely the survival of the ancient Chinantec Calendar. Notice of this discovery was given in the "American Anthropologist" A<sup>1</sup>Q, but the full Calendar and meaning of the words employed are here published for the first time.

For lack of space the present volume does not include the results of the linguistic research made on the last journey, namely that among the Western Chinantec, while, apart from the historical chapters and those dealing with the tribe as a whole, only brief references are made to this region in the chapters

(1).—A Chinantec Calendar, by Irmgard Weitlaner. American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 2, April-June, 1936.

## FOREWORD.

following. It is hoped later to issue a second volume dealing with the *Western Chinantec* and with those of *Yolox*.

In the meantime, therefore, it must be emphasized that this volume is concerned with a small region containing only one third of the total *Chinantec*-speaking peoples—a region comprised within the *Valle Nacional* (District of *Tuxtepec*) where the inhabitants call themselves *Hu-me*, and certain villages of the District of *Choapam*, where the people call themselves *Wah-mi*.

During the two-and-half years since this book went to press we have made further expeditions among neighboring tribes, in particular the *Cuicatec* and the *Mazatec*, and have visited both the large *Chinantec* town of *Ojitlan* and the beautiful little village of *Zautla*. Due to our meeting with a *Mazatec* living at *Usila* we discovered the existence and some of the month names of a *Mazatec* Calendar, and in April 1936 Mr. *Weitlaner* obtained the full calendar at *Huautla de Jimenez*. While apparently related to the *Chinantec* Calendar, it contains important vestiges of ancient mythology. As to the elusive *Guatinicamame*, we were informed at *Mazatlan*—described as the cradle of the *Mazatec*—that the two gigantic *tempexquistle* trees in the plaza there had been planted by “*el rey Guatinicamane*”.

Unfortunately, a word of apology must be added for the many printers' errors in this volume, which was prepared during the author's absence in Europe. Particularly must we apologize for the change of color in certain pages; for the use of heavy type in place of italics and often where not demanded at all; for the distinctly misleading impression (given on page 31) that the *Yaquis* inhabit the State of *Oaxaca*, and for the unorthodox spelling of “*medieval*” in Chapter V.

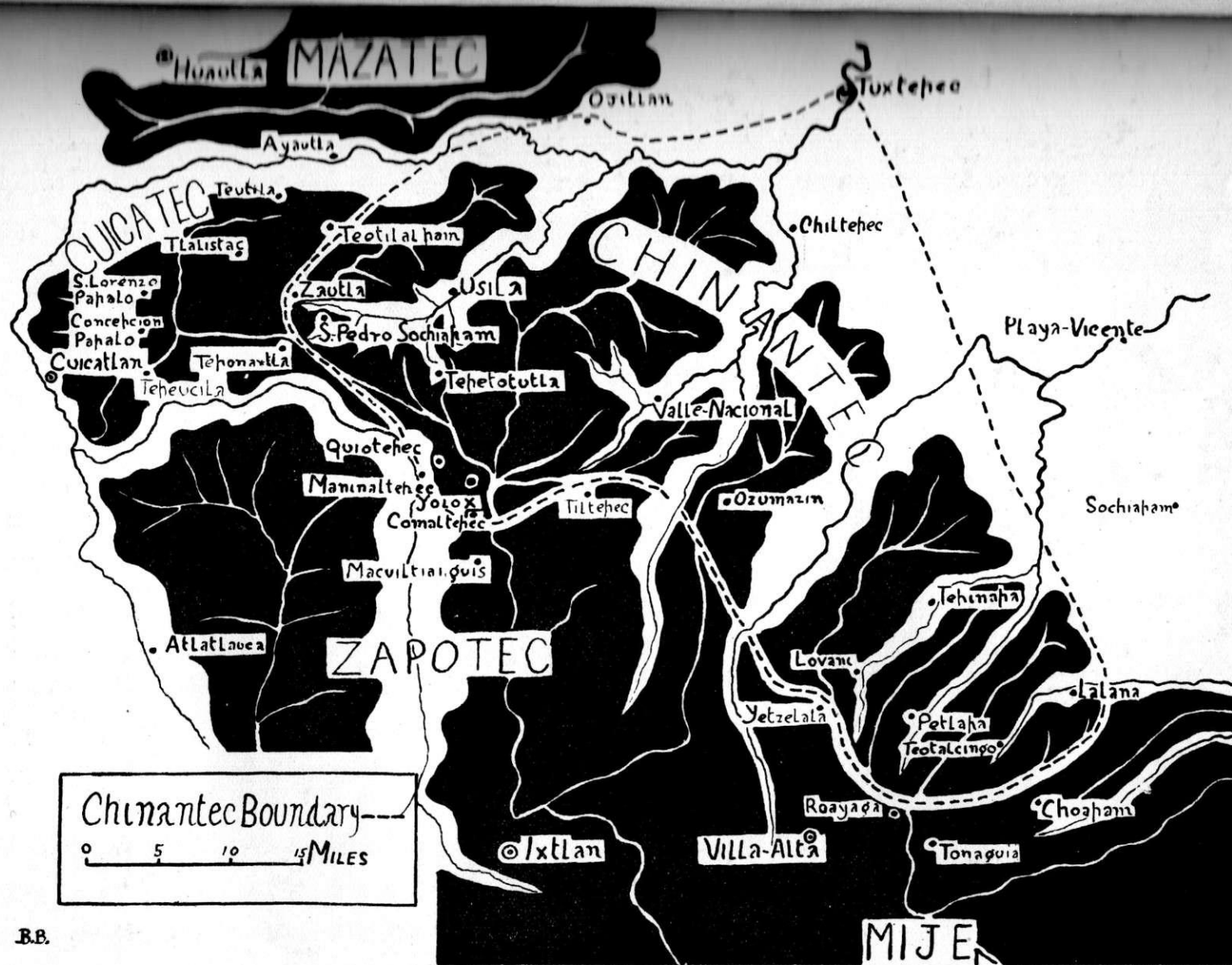
August, 1938.—Calle Civilización 85, Tacubaya.—México, D. F.



<sup>10</sup> Hovallia

MAZATEC

Tuxtepec



The "Walls" of the Chinantla.

This map shows how the "kidney-shaped" Chinantec area, situated on the Eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre, is divided within itself and isolated from the Zapotec, Mije and Cuicatec regions by great mountain barriers.





## CHAPTER I

### THE RAIN FOREST

The Chinantec inhabit a comparatively small area in the Northern part of the State of Oaxaca, upon the Eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre. This area includes parts of the Districts of Tuxtepec, Choapam, Ixtlan and Cuicatlan, but no single one of these Districts contains only Chinantec. <sup>(1)</sup> Their territory is watered by the Rivers Chiquito, Cajones, Valle-Nacional and the chief North-flowing tributaries of the Santo Domingo. All these, except the Cajones and Chiquito, (which become the Tesechoacan), join near Tuxtepec to form the great Rio Papaloapam, which reaches the Gulf of Mexico through the lagoons of Alvarado.

Chinantec territory forms in plan a kidney-shaped area, with Ojitlan and Tuxtepec at the top, San Pedro Sochiapam at one end, and Teotalcingo at the other end. The concave portion of the "kidney" is formed by an outpost of Zapoteco-Serrano territory lying around the headwaters of the Soyolapam, chief tributary of the Rio Valle-Nacional. <sup>(2)</sup>

The tribe is bounded on the North-East by the State and Plain of Vera-Cruz,—in which Spanish alone is spoken. On the North, it is bounded by the Mazatec; on the West by the Cuicatec and, lower down on the West, as well as on the South, by the Zapotec. It is separated from the Mije by a curious little wedge of Zapotec land extending round the southernmost limits of the Chinantec as far as Sochiapam, which lies on the coastal plain,—and actually East of the Chinantec.

This Eastern boundary is clearly defined in few words: where the mountains die into the plain, there ends Chinantec territory.

(1).—There is also one,—isolated,—Chinantec village, namely San Juan Bautista Atlatlauca, in the District of Etla.

(2).—The best and most recent map to show the entire Chinantec area on a reasonably large scale is the "Carta general lingüística de Oaxaca formada sobre el plano de la Comisión geográfico-explotadora de 1912, por Rafael García Granados". Another map to show the whole region is that of the State of Oaxaca; scale 1:1000.00 by the Dirección de Geografía, Meteorología e Hidrología, the second edition of which bears the date 1932. In 1932, the Dirección de Estudios Geográficos y Climatológicos published a map on a scale of 1:500.000 which includes the Southern and Western Chinantla and the Western half of the State. It is said that a similar map covering

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Regarding the Northern boundary, we possessed little positive evidence until our most recent expedition, though we rightly guessed that West of longitude 96°30' it followed the River Santo Domingo as far as the Cuicatec. We now know that Ayautla and Santo Domingo "de los Pintos", both on this river, are the most southerly Mazatec villages, while the most easterly Cuicatec *pueblos* are San Andrés Teotilalpam, Talixtac, Teponaxtla and the several villages with the name Papalo as *apellido*. Here the "border" is a great mountain barrier, a range probably some 8,000 feet high, running North-East from Tepeucila in the direction of Teutila.

South of this mountain range, the boundary may be again defined in few words. No Chinantec village, save the isolated Atlatlauca, lies South or West of the Rio Grande. Here, as in the North, a river forms the boundary and, as a matter of interest, it is in both cases the same river, though under different names, that forms this boundary. The Rio Grande, rising near Ixtlan, flows due North to the Chinantla near Quiotepec, makes a sudden bend West and then North to sweep round Cuicatlan and all Cuicatec territory, and finally turns East, where it changes its name to become the Rio Santo Domingo and divides the Chinantec from the Mazatec.

Except in these three instances where the boundary is a river or a plain, the Chinantec are cut off from neighboring tribes by natural mountain barriers. Thus the trails from Teotalcingo to Choapam, (Zapotec); from Lovani to Yezelala, (Zapotec); from Ozumazin to Tiltepec, (Zapotec); from Zapotitlan to Teponaxtla, (Cuicatec); from Sochiapam to Concepcion or Santa Maria Papalo, (Cuicatec); and from Zautla to Teutila, (Cuicatec); all entail the crossing of high mountain passes,—long, difficult and tedious.

To emphasize this isolation, it may be added that to pass directly between Teotalcingo and Tonaguía, (Mije); between Petlapa and Roayaga, (Zapotec); Cuasimulco and Tiltepec, (Zapotec); is impossible. There are no trails over these mountains!

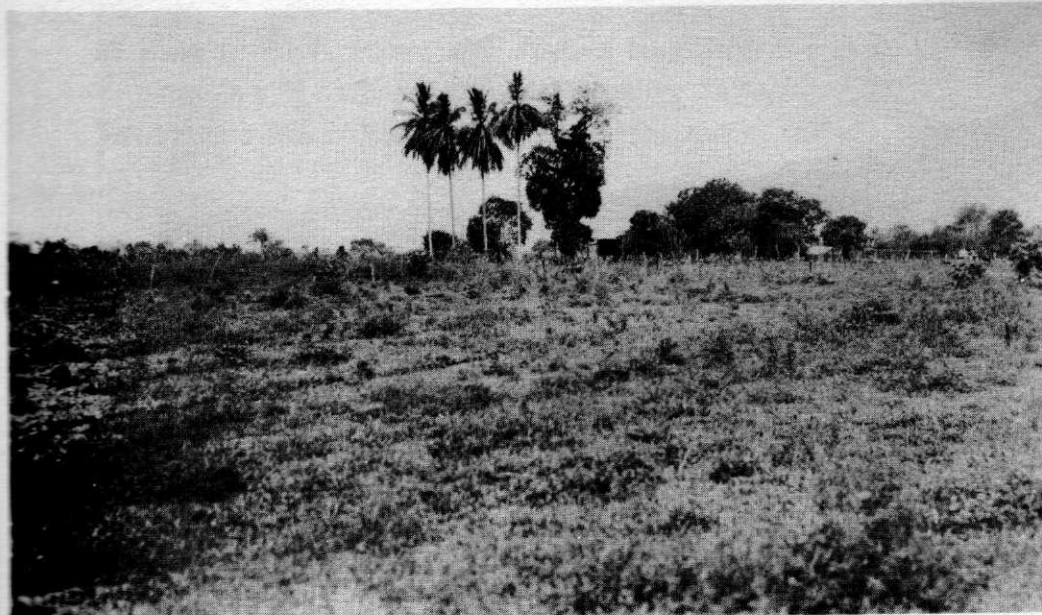
Within the Chinantla itself there exist mountain barriers which divide the tribe into four groups, but with one exception, none of these is so high or so difficult to pass as the barriers between the Chinantec and other, distinct, tribes. The four groups of Chinantec thus divided are as follows:

1) those living in the Valle Nacional area, (linguistically defined as the Hu-me;

the Northern section will shortly be available. Blue print copies of an old map covering most of the Chinantla on a much larger scale, (Sheets 4 & 5) are also obtainable. It should be stated, however, that not one of these maps pretends to accuracy in the location of Chinantec towns or villages, in the courses of rivers or in the spelling of place-names, while certain of the most important Chinantec villages are omitted altogether.



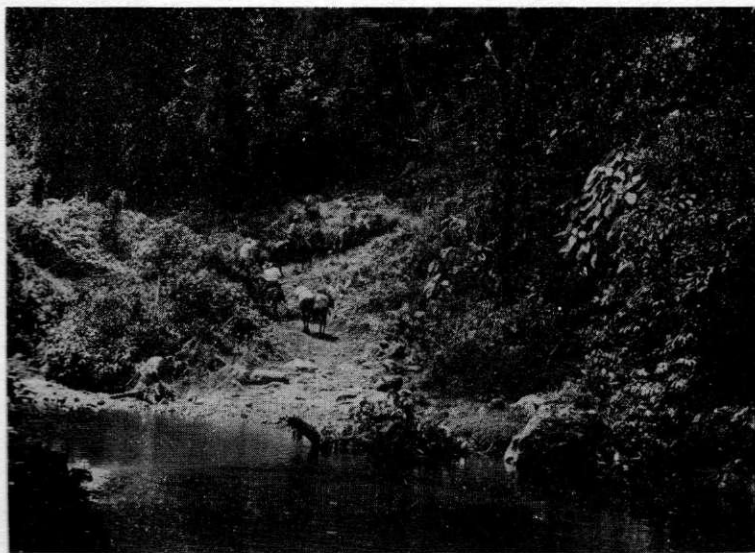
PLATE 1



1.—R. J. W.

**The Valle-Nacional**

The broadest valley in the south-eastern Chinantec area, in which lay the former town of Chinantla, "capital" of the region. Tobacco was grown here in great quantity but its place is now largely taken by bananas. This the sole area in which the Chinantec have effected large clearing in the forest.

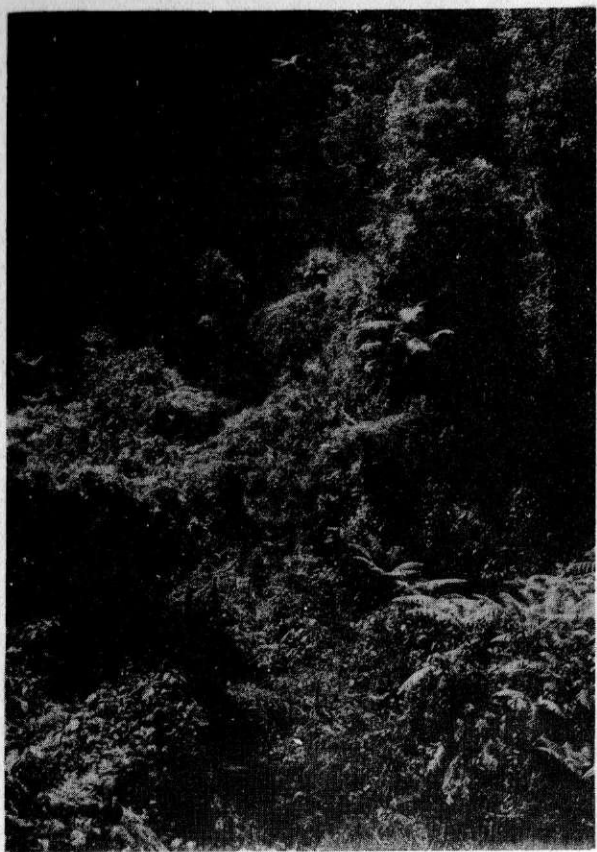


2.—B. B.

**A trail in the forest near El Arenal**

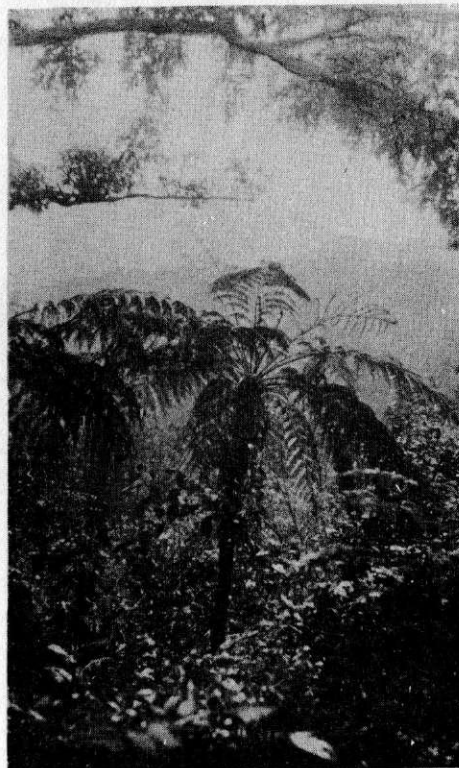
The trails are so difficult that the Chinantec make no use of and do not own horses, mules or donkeys.





3.—B. B.

The Chinantec Rain Forest



4.—B. B.

Tree fern near Lachixola

Tall tree ferns grow in profusion hereabouts up to an elevation  
of 5,000 feet above sea-level.

## THE RAIN FOREST.

2) those living in the District of Choapam, (linguistically defined as the Wah-Mi;

3) those in the Northern and Western area, with the exception of

4) those in a few villages near and including Yolox.

The group most difficult of access from the rest of the Chinantla is the last-named, and includes the two fairly large towns of San Pedro Yolox and San Juan Quiotepec, as well as the villages of Santiago Comaltepec, Temextitlan, Tetitlan, Maninaltepec, Santa María de Nieves, Totomoxtla and San Francisco de las Llagas. Between them and the Valle Nacional rises the lofty Cerro de Cuasimulco,—more than 10 leagues of very difficult mountain trail—and between them and the North-Western Chinantec rises the Cerro de Hueso, with a mountain pass almost as long and even more laborious.

Lying on the Southern and Western slopes of these ranges, the Yolox group of villages differ profoundly from the remainder of the Chinantla and must be considered absolutely apart. They are situated in a dry region; they have adobe houses and excellent trails. They face into and over Zapotec territory where as the rest of the Chinantla virtually turns its back on the Zapotec.

Except in this one locality, the "frontier" mountains of the Chinantla are more difficult to pass than the mountains dividing it internally. Thus the Chinantla forms an entity in itself, girt with "walls", and isolated.

In this respect the name "Chinantla" is remarkably apposite, for it is derived from the Aztec word "chinamitl" meaning "an enclosed space",—a word signifying anything from a corral to a mountain-girt valley.

The term, however, was not originally intended to cover the whole region. It was the name of the former "capital",—now vanished—which lay within the Valle Nacional and probably close to the present town of that name. (3) Attempts have been recently made to identify this old town of Chinantla with certain ruins on the right bank of the river, between the modern Valle-Nacional and Yetla. The fact is, nevertheless, that we have very little evidence to go upon; the *Relacion de Chinantla*. (4) owing to its involved language and ambiguous phrases, only increases our confusion, and the name Chinantla,—“an enclosed space”—might well be given to any town in the valley! Since in the valley there are several *pueblos viejos* or archaeological sites, lacking investigation—and all of unknown age and origin—it is impossible at present to state definitely which, if any, is the original Chinantla.

Since the Spanish conquest, the term "Chinantla" has been used in several senses, which it is as well to clarify at once. It has been used

(3).—The Valle Nacional is a large valley. Valle-Nacional is. (1), a river, (2), a town.

(4).—A report on the District, made in 1579. See translation, Chapter X.



## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

indiscriminately to cover (1), the former capital of the Chinantec mentioned above; (2) the towns and villages in the actual valley now called Valle Nacional; (3), the Valle Nacional and group of Chinantec-speaking villages to the South-East, lying in the District of Choapam; and (4), the entire Chinantec nation. Bernal Diaz employs the term to cover a large region whose outlet was Tuxtepec, which contained "four or five towns", not counting many farms", and which included "Malinaltepec". (5) Burgoa identifies it vaguely as "beyond Villa-Alta" but implies all the territory occupied by the Chinantec, and Belmar speaks of it definitely as such. In this work, therefore, the name La Chinantla is intended to apply in its fourth or widest sense,—a synonym for the region where any dialect of Chinantec is spoken.

In this great "chinamitl" girt with mountains, the climate and vegetation have exercised a more predominant effect on the life of the natives than can be true of almost any other tribe in Mexico. The Chinantec is bound down to his surroundings, fighting for his very existence, and fighting no human adversary but a wild forest whose strength is continuously fortified by the almost incessant rains. These cause the growth not only of beautiful trees and flowers but a greedy tangle of undergrowth spreading mercilessly over trees and land, and against which the unfortunate Chinantec must wage unceasing war to cultivate his food-bearing crops.

The Chinantec, as already observed, dwell on the Eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre. With their backs to this "wall", they look out over the great Atlantic coastal plain from which the prevailing winds bring rain. Their mountains, save to the West, are not particularly high, but they are the first against which these clouds will break, and whether or not there is a "Norther" in the Gulf, the torrid air rising from the plain is borne towards their hills and condenses in soft billowy clouds and a "Scotch mist". Except for that of Tabasco, the rainfall here is indeed the heaviest in Mexico.

Burgoa very aptly described the climate of this region more than 260 years ago when he noted "The mountains soaked with clouds so full that the rains of the winter last till those of the Spring and Summer" and again, "Months may pass in which one does not see the Sun, and whole weeks in which the water from the skies does not cease to fall. (6) In short, it may be stated that in sharp contrast to practically all the remainder of Mexico, there is no Dry Season in the Chinantec area.

As a result of this, a great rolling forest, usually known as the Rain Forest, sweeps up like an immense green wave from the coastal plain to the slopes of Zempoaltepec and the Western boundary of the Chinantec. It is a sub-tropical jungle of great beauty in which giant "Sombreretes"

(5).—Presumably the San Miguel Maninaltepec near San. Juan Quiotepec.

(6).—"Geográfica Descripción"; Chapter LVIII, Page 282. See Note 1, Chapter V., Section b.



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and "Huanacaxtles" rise in splendor above the underbrush, their trunks festooned with brilliant flowering vines, and their massive branches canopied with splendid orchidaceous and other epiphytic plants of the most diverse and colorful species. Ambitious convolvuli curl like snakes in their strangle-hold, and climb the tallest trees or form beautiful curtains sewn with bell-like flowers across the trails, while from the loftiest branches hang great ropes of bejuco, the stout vine so useful to the Chinantec as well as ornamental to the forest.

Beneath these majestic trees cluster a thousand others loaded with bromelias, and air-plants, and dotted with orchids of great variety, including one of an exceptionally beautiful saffron yellow. Every tree and rock is coated with moss and lichens, and the banks are carpeted with ferns, large and small, while aromatic shrubs line the wayside. In the dells formed by the many rushing streams, the vegetation is even more luxuriant than elsewhere, and amidst the dense foliage, rise exquisite tree ferns, their fronds making superb patterns in silhouette against the sky. Butterflies of brilliant hues fly lazily about, and birds of startling color soar above the tree-tops.

Many animals too are found in these woods; monkeys, tapirs, jabali, porcupines, armadillos and several kinds of "tigre"; and once in a while, a brilliant red and blue huacamaya, like those of Chiapas and Guatemala, is brought home by the Indians.

Save in the Valle Nacional and in the little valley of Usila, very few clearings have been opened in this forest. Coffee, bananas, tobacco and cotton have been planted in certain localities but wherever these are abandoned by man, the Rain Forest aggressively re-establishes itself. An immense trellis of vine, a deep green coverlet, spreads itself over the ground, smothering all in its path. Tree-stumps left by the wood-cutters are quickly enveloped, and a group of these quaintly resembles a city of the dead. In a few years it is difficult to tell the land has ever been cultivated.

Nowhere have the Chinantec effected a permanent transformation of the forest, and the Chinantla retains its true climax vegetation to a degree perhaps unequalled elsewhere in Mexico.

Such is the habitat of the Chinantec:—a luxuriant dripping forest, and where this forest comes to an end, there also ends their territory. So abrupt and striking is the transition that one finds along the very Chinantec border that the great hills present two different slopes: the one arid and treeless, or clad with a few oaks; the other moist and covered with dense tropical forest. The latter slope is Chinantec; the former belongs to another tribe. And so general is this feature that the Southern and Western boundaries, (apart from that of the Yolox area), can be accurately surmised from rainfall charts, while the boundary is again distinguishable on the maps by the extraordinarily complex network of streams which drain the Chinantec mountains.

These mountains are not in general very lofty; they do not rise to jagged peaks but form long "hog-back" ranges, covered from head to foot

## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

in beautiful jungle. For the most part, they would not attain to the dignity of mountains but for the great depth of the valleys carved between them, the base of which is in some cases less than 800 feet above sea-level.

Probably the highest mountain in the Chinantla is the already mentioned Cerro de Cuasimulco or Cerro de Saccate, above Yolox, which rises to nearly 8,000 feet. Close by, and part of the same range, is the Cerro de Hueso, also mentioned above. In the Wah-mi area, the highest mountains,—perhaps attaining 7,000 feet—rise between the Petlapa group of villages, (Petlapa, Teotalcingo and Lovani), and the Mije-Zapotec valleys to the South. In the region of Lalana, the highest peak is less than 2,500 feet high. Throughout this region, owing to the constant rains, tree ferns may be found up to an elevation of 5,000 feet!

The chief rivers of the Chinantec, (taken from North-West to South-East, are the Rio Blanco or Rio de Usila, (a tributary of the Santo Domingo); the Valle-Nacional, with its important tributary the Soyolapam; the Cajones, (in places known also as the Mojarra), which forms a convenient boundary between the Hum-me and the Wa-mi; and finally the small but swift rivers of the Choapam group of Chinantec villages. Among these may be noted the Rio Chiquito, which flows down from Lovani, Toabela and Tepinapa to join the Cajones on the Vera-Cruz border; the Rio Manzo, which flows from the Petlapa mountains and joins the Chiquito below Jocotepec; and the Rio de Lalana, which passes Teotalcingo, Lacova and Lalana, and is a tributary of the Santa-Maria.

These streams are famed for their fish,—trout, *mojarra*, *bobo*, etc., alas often killed with dynamite!—and long ago, Burgoa noted: (?) "there is such an abundance of "bobo" and trout that they are caught in nearly all the rivers, and are the best fish in the kingdom, so fresh that they can vie with the salmon of Galicia and the bream of Laredo".

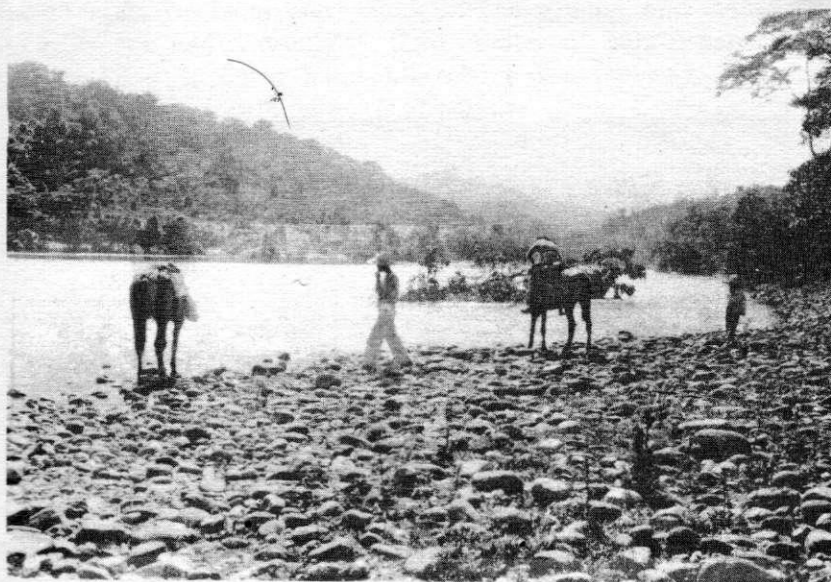
The rivers are fed by tiny tributaries so numerous that in this country one may scarcely travel a league without encountering a stream, and since the streams, even when not carrying down a considerable body of water after or during rain, are always swift and usually dangerous, they form a great barrier to communication.

Happily, the Chinantec have evolved a very ingenious type of suspension bridge vaguely resembling a hammock and known consequently as *hamaca*. The type is very similar to native suspension bridges in certain parts of Central and South America and tropical regions in other Continents, but except among the Mije, it is seldom seen elsewhere in Mexico. With the Mije, the hammock-bridge is never so large or imposing a work of primitive engineering as it is in the Chinantec forest.

The bridges are made entirely of *bejuco*,—an immensely long, rope-like vine found all over the forest and very strong—while it lasts. The footway, never more than six inches wide, is composed of a bundle of these vines, a dozen or more in number, laid side by side and tied together

(7).—"Palestra Historial"; Chapter II, Page 49.

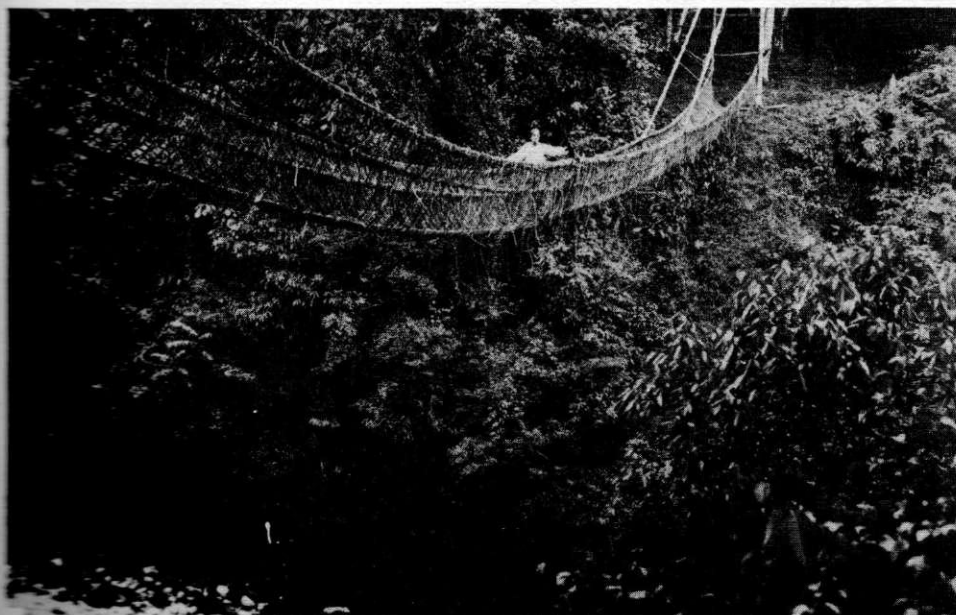
PLATE 3



5. B. B.

**The River Cajones**

View looking up-stream, taken between Ozumazin and Tepinapa. Nearby, new Chinantec villages, at present rancherías, are springing up.

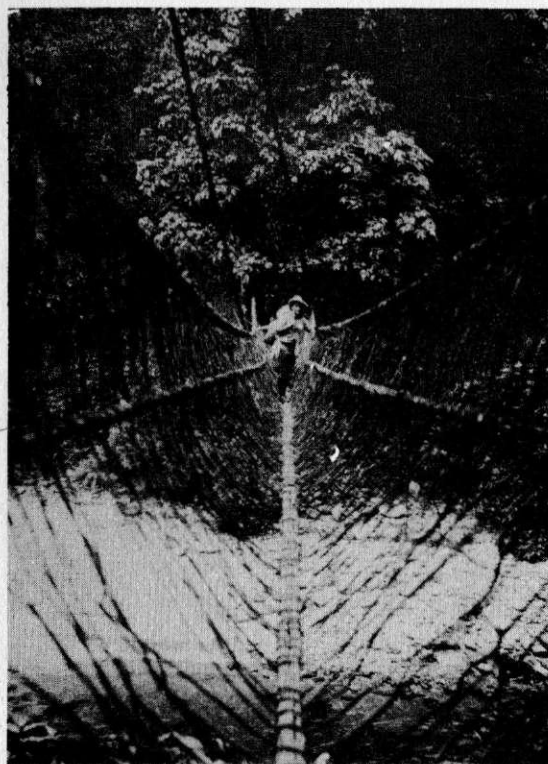


6 —R. J. W.

**Chinantec "Hammock" Suspension Bridge**

These "hamacas" are made entirely from strands of a stout ropelike vine called "bejuco". They will safely carry twenty persons at one time. Precisely similar bridges are mentioned in the "Relación de Uçila" of 1579 and by Burgoa.





7 —B. B.



8.—B. B.

#### Suspension Bridges.

"Hammock" Bridges over the Rio de Lalana and Rio Valle-Nacional. In the modern bridges wire and planks are used in place of the old "bejuco".

## THE RAIN FOREST.

at short intervals. This great rope is stretched across the river from trees on either bank, or from poles sunk in the ground and lashed to neighboring trees for added security. Two additional bejuco ropes are hung across the river to form hand-rails above the footway, and are fastened to it with an intricate network of smaller vines. Extra tie-ropes dangle from the supporting trees at each end and help to steady the somewhat frail construction, which creaks, sags and swings at every step. Yet, despite their rickety appearance, these bridges are surprisingly strong and we know of one that has safely borne twenty persons at the same time.

Unfortunately, the bejuco does not last. When old or dry, the vine snaps and the bridge falls into the river,—usually at night. Remarkably few accidents are recorded. The life of a hammock bridge depends not only on the quality of bejuco of which it is made, but upon the climate. Among the Wah-mi, which is the wettest area of the whole Chinantla, it appears that hammock-bridges may survive for years. In the Western Chinantec region, we were informed that the average bridge will last only a few months. At Usila, a bridge is put up once every year, in the flood season. Luckily, these constructions can be easily replaced. In two days, a new bridge can be erected.

Nevertheless, to obviate this constant re-building, the Chinantec in some of the more "progressive" and accessible regions have been quick to seize upon new materials when available. At Tepinapa there is a hammock-bridge composed exclusively—footway and all—of wire, and rocking even more perilously than those built of vines. Near San Cristobal, in the Valle Nacional, is another bridge of wire but with loose planks laid down for a footway. The longest hammock bridge appears to be that at Ojitlan. Other fine specimens are found at San Antonio del Barrio, at Usila, (during the flood period only) and near Lalana.

Naturally, a hammock-bridge is passable only to pedestrians, and, since the streams are often very difficult to ford both because of their rocky bed and swirling torrent, it is no advantage to own a horse, mule or donkey. With four horses, the crossing near Lacova of the comparatively insignificant Rio de Lalana occupied us nearly three hours. Baggage and saddles had to be unloaded and carried one by one over the "hammock", after which it was necessary to cut a path down to the river brink and, tying the four bridle-ropes together, haul each animal, plunging and kicking, across the stream.

Not only the rivers of the Chinantla are responsible for the extreme difficulties of travel, but the very forest and mountains which invest this region with such beauty. The trails climb precipitously in sinuous caracoles over patches of mud, slippery rocks, tree roots and a tangle of fern and weeds. Streams take possession of these paths, rendering them all the more dangerous, and it is not without reason that one of these ascents is known as the *Subida del Cielo* or that another is called *La Esca-*

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lera. When not engaged in gaining some particular *cumbre*—and no Chinantec path takes a level course if a shorter route lies directly over the mountain-top—the trail clings to the hillside in what is called *ladera*, and this may be quite as dangerous as the actual *subidas* and *bajadas*. With a steep bank on one side and a *barranca* on the other, the horses overbalance, fall over the edge, and usually drop more than 50 feet before coming to rest in a tangle of undergrowth. Near Tlatepusco, our baggage horse fell well over 100 feet into one such *barranca*.

It is virtually impossible to travel at night or to cover distances with any speed. The ascent of the Cerro de Hueso from Tepetotutla occupied our horses nearly seven hours; the descent of the Cerro de Sacate, to Cuasimulco, occupied them nine hours; and the journey from Lovani to Yezelala, just over 11 hours!

From these figures alone can be appreciated the difficulty of the trails, still euphemistically known as *caminos reales*, but so arduous are they that some villages are practically inaccessible on horseback.

Teotalcingo is inaccessible save from Choapam. Petlapa, though easily gained on foot from Jocotepec or Toabela, can only be reached with a horse from Lovani,—on the East. To approach it from any other direction, detours involving perhaps two or more days of travel are unavoidable.

As a result of these abnormal conditions, the Chinantec are their own beasts of burden, and they possess neither horses, nor mules, nor donkeys, and so rare are such animals in certain localities that at Lovani, our mounts were greeted with consternation,—and this in a village lying on a trade-route connecting the Zapotec hinterland of Villa-Alta with the coastal plain!

In such a country, it is not surprising that the inhabitants travel only when sheer necessity drives them to it. The Chinantec travel very rarely: their trails are almost deserted and one may walk all day without encountering a soul, whereas in the Zapotec hills, the trails are wide, well-kept and constantly used by pack trains of mules or donkeys.

There are indeed trade-routes through the Chinantla, but it is the Zapotec, journeying from and to places outside the region, who use them.

The trade-route mentioned above leads from Villa-Alta, (and hence from Oaxaca), through Temascalapa, Yatsona and Yezelala, enters the Chinantla at Lovani, and follows the Rio Chiquito to Tepinapa and the coastal plain. Another route, more important, leads from Choapam, (and hence from Oaxaca via Yalalag), to Latani and Lalana, avoiding Teotalcingo. From Lalana, it continues to El Arenal, Montenegro, the Zapotec settlement of Sochiapam and finally to Playa-Vicente. A third route, possible more travelled, leads from Tuxtepec, up the Valle Nacional to Yetla, and over the pass to Yolox, Comaltepec and Ixtlan. A very minor route connects Lalana with Tepinapa via Lachixola and Jocotepec. In most cases, however, it is to be noted that important trade-routes may enter, but do not "pass through" the Chinantla. For instance, a route from



## THE RAIN FOREST.

Ojitlan and Tuxtepec stops at Usila. That from Ixtlan stops at Yolox. There is practically no trade or communication between Usila and Yolox. And finally, the routes which would logically cross the Chinantla are carefully avoided. Characteristically, that from Tuxtepec to Cuicatlan passes North of the Chinantla to Ojitlan and Teotilalpam. Communication between Usila and Tuxtepec is often maintained by river, while the Rio Valle-Nacional is navigable below the town of this name.

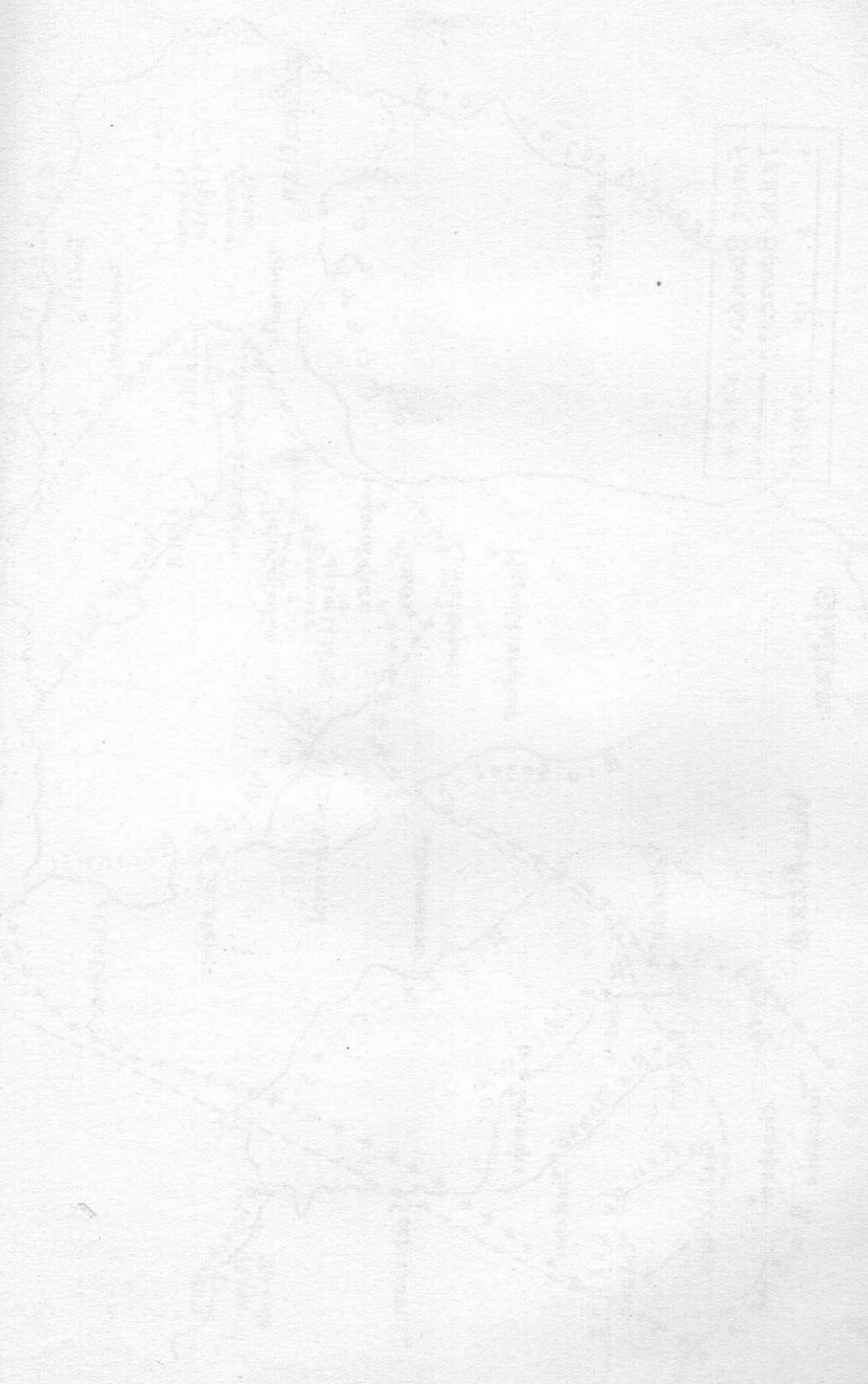
All these trade-routes are travelled almost exclusively by Zapotec carriers. The Chinantec themselves do not travel: they have secluded themselves within their beautiful jungle, and it is perhaps largely to this that we owe the remarkable preservation of their language in its many dialects and possibly too, their natural, unselfconscious charm.

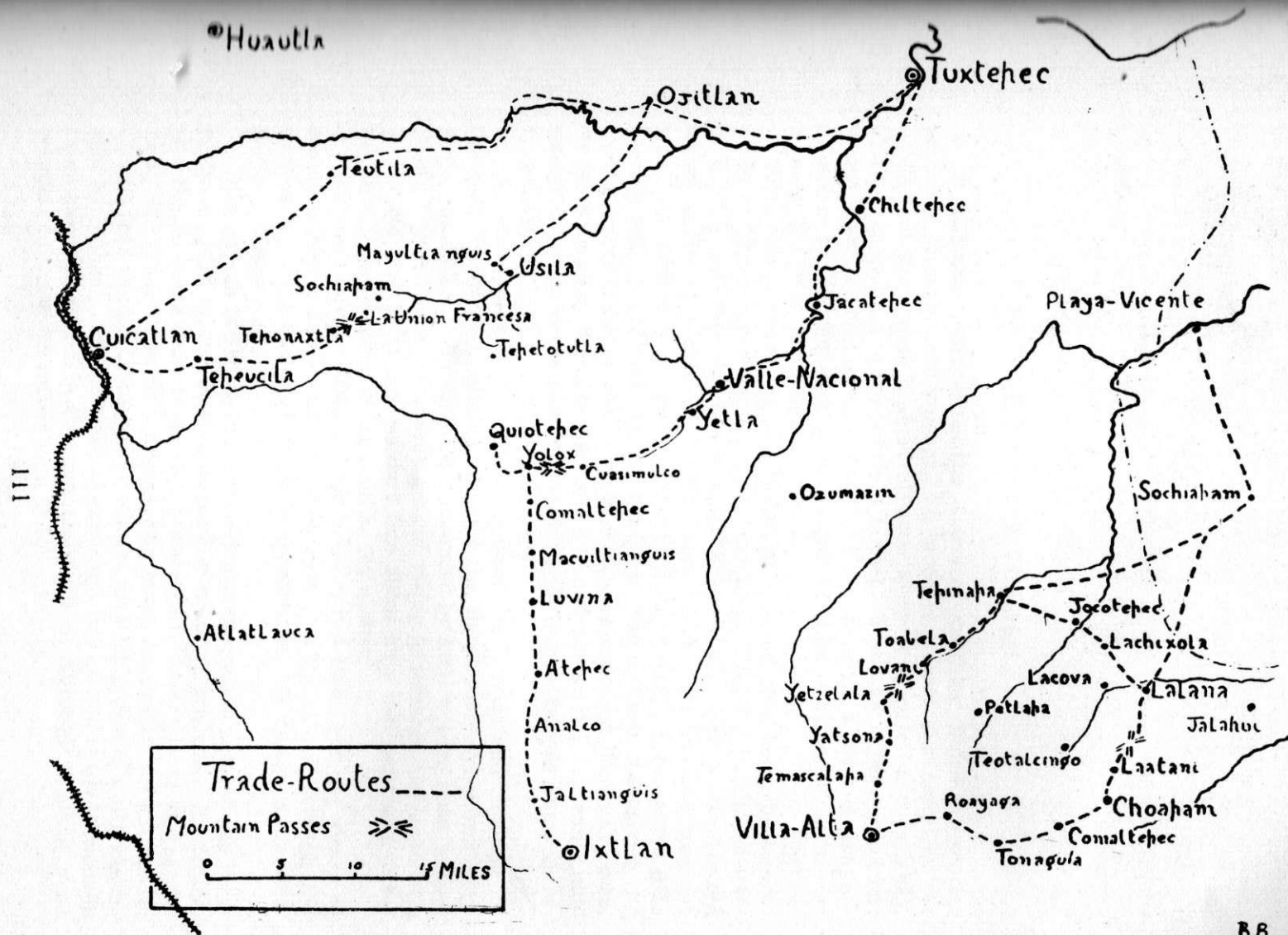






State of Florida  
County of Duval  
Circuit Court  
In and for the County of Duval  
State of Florida  
vs.  
The Florida Power Corporation  
Plaintiff  
vs.  
The Florida Power Corporation  
Defendant





#### Trade Routes of the Chinantla.

This map shows the few trade routes crossing the Chinantla, and how each is obstructed by mountain passes. The mountain barriers shown in Map I. explain why there are no trade routes running North-West to South-East, and why there is little communication between the different groups of Chinantec.





## CHAPTER II

### THE FOREST VILLAGE

A Chinantec village has the charm of anything which harmonizes perfectly with its surroundings. So much is it part and parcel of the forest that from even a short distance away it is practically invisible. The village is often heard before it is seen. A woman is beating cotton; a small boy is blowing on a conch-shell or a horn; a *topil* is relaying messages on the municipal drum;—and all these sounds will carry for miles in the clear, damp air.

The village proves to be situated at the end of a long, "hog-back" range of hills or upon some little promontory. The only building discernible from the other side of the valley is the church, with walls of naked brown adobe, or coated with whitewash, which time and the constant rain have turned to a golden yellow. Incongruously, because more in keeping with a medieval barn than with a church, there rises above the walls a heavy thatched roof, high-peaked,—majestic and impressive merely from its scale. Upon it there sits a large black zopilote, its wings outstretched to dry in the morning sunshine. It looks strangely like a Hapsburg Eagle.

As you approach the village, crossing the *hamaca* and climbing up the rock-strewn path tunneled through the forest and over-grown with ferns, you find the church to be surrounded by little wooden huts, packed closely together on very uneven ground, rising in terraces, tier upon tier. A few red and white figures dart into these huts and barricade themselves in. A baby cries. A pig scuttles for shelter.

As you reach the *plaza*, a little grass-grown lawn, you are aware of countless brown faces with jet black eyes peeping at you through the walls of the huts, but to all outward appearances, the village is deserted. A stony silence reigns.

The church is set at the very end and narrowest part of the "promontory", and in the most commanding position available. Its façade, (no regard being paid to correct orientation), seldom looks across the valley but "faces inwards", towards the huts. At first, it strikes one as curious that the Chinantec should almost invariably choose a site unsuitable for building, but later, one realizes that flat ground is too precious in these mountains, and in the rare cases where it exists at all, it must be given to the crops rather than to the villagers.

## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

Around the **plaza**, wherever convenient, are grouped the **Municipio**, the **Curato** and the school,—if such exists—all of them of adobe, but with roofs of thatch. Occasionally, the amenities of the **plaza** are spoiled by basket-ball posts, but this game has not yet captivated the Chinantec. In one corner, stands the belfrey, a small structure consisting of four posts supporting a thatch, beneath which hang one or two bells of moderate size,—often of the 18th Century. The liability to earthquakes has prevented the Chinantec from placing proper bell-towers on their churches.

While you stand in the **plaza**, wondering if the village is really inhabited, a man approaches. He is probably drunk, but wreathed in smiles, and if his command of Spanish is sufficient, he will salute you as an old friend; will tell you (with no regard for truth) that you have been long expected; will ask you whether or not you like the village, and will apologize for "having a slight fever". In due course, after sundry remarks about aeroplanes—the stock subject of polite conversation—he will see that you are properly attended, but not until the evening, for during the day, all good men of the village are out at work upon their **ranchos**.

If you leave the village immediately, some fifty little red and white figures come peeping out from behind the huts and trees. The more adventurous will even stand in groups out in the open, but always "behind" you or away from your path. You are watched till well out of sight. Then the patting of **tortillas** and the beating of cotton is resumed, and nothing more is seen of the village save the church with its mellow golden walls.

It would be an unpleasant task to analyze the extraordinary fear of the Chinantec for strangers, and to discover that it is based not only on mere Fear of the Unknown, but upon actual experience. Perhaps some Government comission has visited them many years ago. The members did not pay for food willingly supplied, or gave some decision against this village in a boundary dispute. Perhaps an official declared the village had transgressed some law of which it was entirely ignorant, and imposed a fine. Perhaps some "person of reason" sold to them a "Municipal Telephone", already antiquated and useless when it was installed. At all events, wether his fear be the long inherited and reasonable dread of the Spaniard or the result of more recent experience, there is no doubt but that the Chinantec is mortally afraid of strangers,—and this because he expects to be fleeced or in some way ill-treated. His fear is a sorry indictment of **gente de razón**!

The red and white costumes shining in the sunlight, the red-brown earth, the tall waving banana leaves with their metallic sheen, the wonderful flowering trees and shrubs with which the houses are surrounded, all these give to a Chinantec village the strong coloring of a Gauguin or the warm glow of a Cezanne. At sunset and by starlight, when faint wisps of white cloud float in narrow streaks across the hills, it resembles the back-drop of some fantastic opera, with the cool blue and grey tones of a Japanese print.

Not all Chinantec villages occupy "promontories" or saddles in the





9.—R. J. W.

**Chiltepec, a large Chinantec village in the Valle Nacional**

Note the large size of the houses and their heavily thatched roofs. This village was practically destroyed by fire in the Spring of 1935 but was immediately rebuilt.



10.—R. J. W.

**Lalana**



PLATE 6

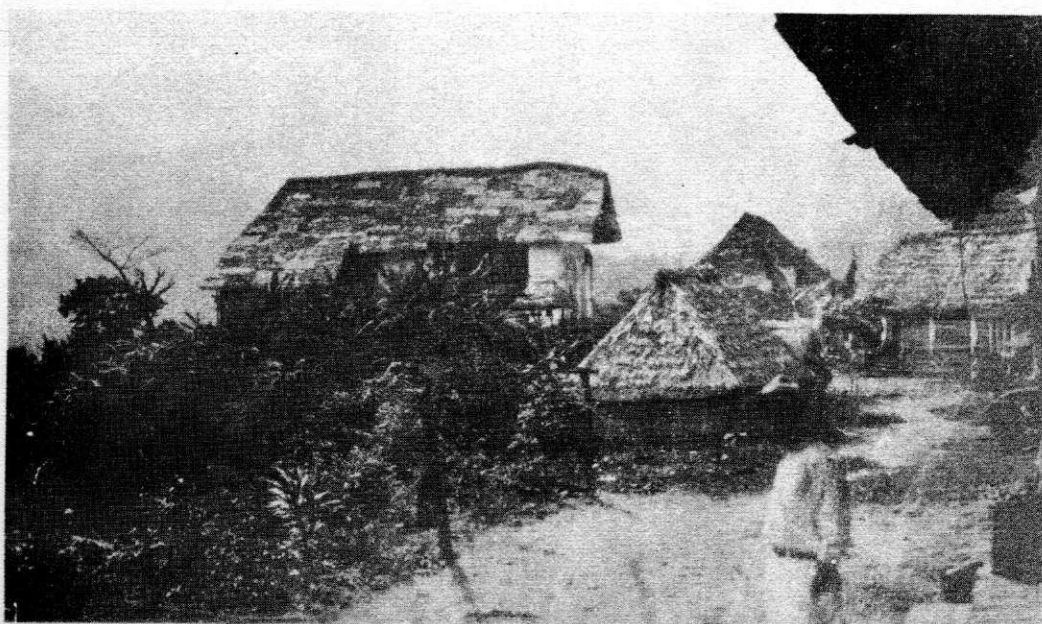
PLATE 6



11.—B.B.

Petlapa

The adobe church whitewashed facade and thatched roof is encircled by stick-built huts and is situated on a "promontory" among the hills. The profusion of flowering trees and shrubs gives great beauty to these villages.



12.—I. W.

Lalana

The main street, with Municipio at the end, and large barn-like church to the left.

## THE FOREST VILLAGE.

hills, but so often is this the case that it may be termed a highly characteristic feature of the region, and the above description may apply to more than a dozen villages, among them Lovani, Petlapa, Teotalcingo, Lacova, Lachixola, Jocotepec, Lalana, Ozumazin, San Pedro Sochiapam, Zapotitlan, San Antonio del Barrio, Mayultianguis and Tepetotutla. Tepinapa, Toabela, Quetzalapa, and Santiago Tlatepusco are situated in splendid dales, hemmed in by the forest, while Chiltepec, Yetla, Jacatepec. Valle-Nacional and Usila occupy rather broader valleys.

The choice of these "saddle" or "promontory" sites must be intentional and ancient. The *Relacion de Chinantla* specifically states that all the twenty-four villages in that District were situated on hilltops or hill-sides. In the neighboring Zapotec country, the choice is in many cases similar, and here, upon the final promontory, where in post-conquest times the church would have been erected, one often finds a *Cerro compuesto*: a natural hill or hillock artificially terraced and closely resembling a pyramid or teocalli. It is true that in the Chinantla, true *cerros compuestos* are seldom found, but at Teotalcingo, ancient ruins signify the presence of a *pueblo viejo* in just such a situation. Again, at Lalana, where tales are told of treasure and old construction beneath the present church, the church is built on a promontory of this type, and it is possible that it occupies the site of a pagan edifice. It is obvious that these villages were not placed here for convenience, for they are often quite a distance from water, which has to be carried up from the stream right at the base of the hill. The evidence would seem to indicate that they were founded on sacred sites or in naturally fortified positions. Villages of "recent" foundation do not usually occupy commanding positions of this nature.

Most of the Chinantec villages contain less than six hundred inhabitants, and many of them less than half this number. In the following chapter it is shown that the total population of the tribe is steadily increasing, but, curiously enough, this does not mean that the villages are growing larger. Each *pueblo* has *aldeas* or *rancherías* attached to it:—small fields formed in clearings in the forest, where corn or beans may be cultivated. In due course the soil becomes useless, the clearing becomes overgrown and the people have to found new *rancherías* farther away. When the distance of these *rancherías* becomes too great for the owners conveniently to carry their produce home for storage and consumption, they settle permanently on the *rancherías*. Thus around each *pueblo* there gradually arise small settlements, and these in time form new communities.

We noticed several striking examples of this peculiar growth and division of *pueblos*. Jocotepec is said by its inhabitants to be a large village, and the Census of 1930 showed it then had 981 inhabitants, yet, only five years later, we found it to possess barely a score of huts. More than two thirds of the population had moved out to their *rancherías* in the neighboring hills, some of which have already become *agencias*,—the first step



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towards emancipation. Among them is El Cantarito or Cantaritos, now quite a fair-sized village with some forty contribuyentes of its own, busily putting the final touches to a **Municipio**, a school and a church. They are now actively engaged in making their little plaza into a public garden, —and this plaza itself was only very recently carved out of the dense jungle by which the village is encircled.

Another instance of the rapid growth of a new **pueblo** was found on the Llanos de Ozumazin, near the River Cajones. Here, about thirty settlers from the old village of Ozumazin, up in the hills, have established themselves within the last four years, and are already quarreling over their independence.

Sometimes, a **pueblo nuevo** may even outgrow that by which it was founded. San Antonio del Barrio is much larger than its parent village, Tepetotutla. El Arenal is nearly as large as the old town of Lalana from which it received its population, and owing to its favorable situation, rich land and easy communication with the coastal plain, it will undoubtedly increase. The most surprising example of a **ranchería** growing rapidly to the status of **pueblo** was seen in neighboring Zapotec territory, where the people of Lachirioag near Villa Alta have founded between Tonagüía and Comaltepec a new **pueblo** named Los Linderos—, fully twenty miles away from the parent village.

This growth of **rancherías** into **pueblos** is not accomplished without difficulties, in fact it is the most usual cause of "war", for the people of the new village will usurp lands belonging to other **pueblos** in the region as well as too large a portion of the lands belonging to their own original village. Thus innumerable jealousies are engendered, and the matter has to be settled by arrangements between the various **Municipios**.

In these cases, resort is made to the old **Libros de Títulos de Terrcnos** which describe in detail the land and boundaries of each village. The books are apparently written in Spanish, but the lands are named in Chinantec. Such books are deeply revered and, when not in actual use to settle quarrels of this nature, are carefully hidden away. No "foreigner", i. e. a person not born in the village from which they hail, is ever allowed to see them. Even the municipal secretaries, when Zapotec or imported from another Chinantec village, are precluded from consulting these books! The "wars" occasionally lead to machete fights in which many persons are injured, while villages will refuse to sell corn to "the enemy" and will assault travellers.

#### Another cause of migration is disease.

Small-pox and typhoid are said to be still common among the neighboring Mije, and formerly these diseases wrought havoc among the Chinantec, and it is no unusual thing for the entire population of a village to migrate after an epidemic of this type. One such migration has occurred within the last three years beside the River Cajones, between Ozumazin and Tepinapa, and within a short distance of the Llanos de Ozumazin. Here has been founded a new village, which has moved bodily down the



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river from the neighborhood of Yagoni, where its former site is now utterly deserted. The village of Palantla is said to have changed its site many times as a result of pestilence, and it is unlikely that Tepinapa now lies in its original position, for it does not occupy the typically Chinantec location upon a "promontory", and it is said that its Zapotec name means "small-pox."

Other villages that are known to have changed their site in historical times include Quetzalapa, Tepetotutla and San Francisco de las Llagas. The first-named is said to have once possessed a population of several thousands. Now, it is no more than a **pueblecito**. Exactly when the pestilence occurred which destroyed the former town is uncertain, but the fact remains that the evacuation or transplantation of a Chinantec village is no modern feature. From the *Relación de Chinantla*, it would appear that there had been two towns of this name and that by 1579, when the "Relación" was written both towns had been abandoned! The more recent town was evacuated, it seems, only a short time previously. The report states that it was hot, damp very unhealthy and then inhabited by only three Indians.

From all this evidence we may gather that the population of a Chinantec village is very unstable. The very existence of a village shown on the map may be reasonably questioned, and places marked as "rancherías" may, in a few years, have assumed the proportions and status of a "pueblo", complete with "municipio", church and school. On the other hand, they may have greatly diminished in size. Some 35 years ago, Lovani was a town of some importance, but an epidemic of small-pox decimated the population, and from this it has never recovered. Cuasimulco is marked on maps as a town and is of very ancient foundation. Now, it is merely a collection of "ranchos" belonging to Totomoxtla.



PLATE 7



13.—R. J. W.

**El Arenal**

A large village of recent foundation, near Lalana, from which it was formed.



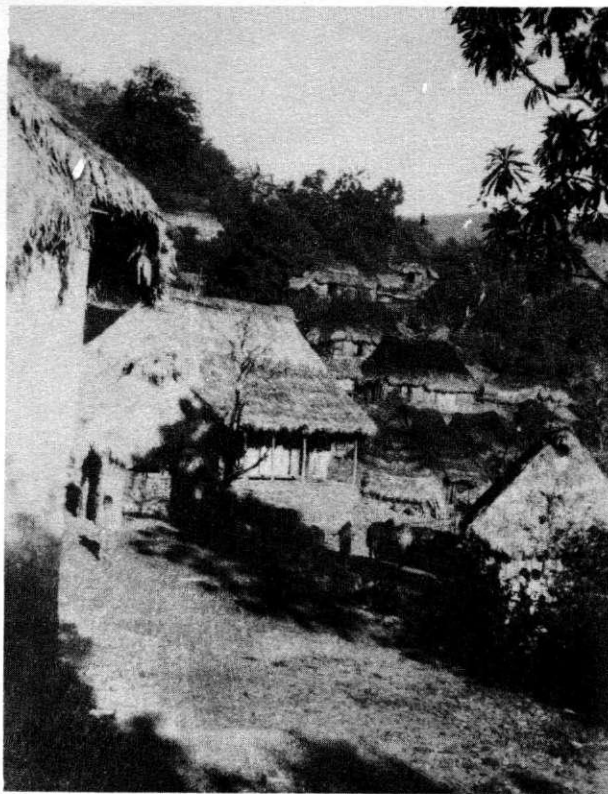
14.—B. B.

**Lovani**

Note the clustered houses rising tier upon tier, with their steeply pitched roofs thatched with grass. Here the presence of our horses caused surprise and alarm since the Chinantec do not own beasts of burden, which are, at least to the younger generation, a somewhat frightening novelty.



PLATE 8



15.—I. W.

Lovani



16.—B. B.

Lovani

This village with its many flowering trees and shrubs, its quaint huts and diminutive thatched bell tower resembles the back-drop of some fantastic opera with the gentle coloring of a Japanese print.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE PEOPLE OF THE FOREST

According to *México en Cifras* and the *Resumen General* <sup>(1)</sup> in which are to be found the census returns of the year 1930, the Chinantec occupy sixteenth place among the more than fifty tribes of Mexico, and fifth place among the tribes in the State of Oaxaca. In this latter region, they are exceeded, (in order of size), only by the Zapotec, the Mixtec, the Mazatec and the Mije.

Since the publication of these volumes, the Department of Statistics, receiving additional information, has revised the figures for this region, and the director, Sr. Ramón Beteta, has kindly communicated to me the returns from each and every Municipio in which Chinantec-speaking persons have been located.

It is now revealed that 24,836 persons speak Chinantec, of whom 12,095 are men, and 12,741 are women <sup>(2)</sup> 7,509 of the men and 9,994 of the women speak only Chinantec, which is to say that 17,603 or 70.88% of the total Chinantec population are monolingual.

Taking the proportion of monolinguals as index, the Chinantec may be fairly accounted one of the most primitive of the Mexican tribes. Though, as stated, they occupy sixteenth place in point of size, they occupy eighth place among all the tribes of Mexico in their proportion of monolinguals. They are exceeded, in this respect, by the Choles, who, more than 89% monolingual, possess the highest proportion of monolinguals in the country; by the Mazatec, nearly 82% monolingual; the Tlapanec and Tzeltales, each more than 80% monolingual; the Triques, over 78%; the Tzotziles, with 76%, and the Mijes, who are 75% monolingual. Of these tribes, three, —the Choles, Tzendales and Tzotziles inhabit the State of Chiapas; the Tlapanec are found in Guerrero, and the remaining three in the State of Oaxaca—, the territory of two of them, the Mazatec and the Mije, being adjacent to that of the Chinantec. Four of these tribes with so high a proportion of monolinguals are larger than the Chinantec, and three are smaller.

(1).—"México en Cifras"; Atlas Estadístico, 1934. Published by the Secretaría de la Economía Nacional, Dirección General de Estadística.

"Resumen General." "Quinto Censo de Población, 15 de Mayo de 1930", published by the same department in 1934.

(2).—The figures do not include children under five years of age.



## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

Naturally, this does not imply that the Chinantec have the greatest number of monolinguals of any single tribe. The Aztec possess over three hundred and fifty-six thousand monolinguals; the Mayas nearly one hundred and thirty-two thousand, and the Mixtec and Zapotec each have over one hundred and eleven thousand. In addition to these, there are eight other tribes with a greater number of monolinguals than the Chinantec.

Nevertheless, in the State of Oaxaca, the Chinantec, compared with tribes of their own size or larger, are exceeded in their proportion of monolinguals only by their neighbors the Mazatec and the Mije.

Owing to the extreme difficulties of taking a Census in this remote corner of Mexico, unorganised and roadless, —difficulties frankly admitted by the census officials—we have reason to be skeptical of the accuracy of these figures; however, they accord very well with our former estimate of the size of the tribe, namely a Census taken at the beginning of the present century, from which Belmar quotes, giving the number of Chinantec as 18,051. Taking into account these difficulties, even greater thirty-five years ago than at the present day, the correct figure was no doubt in excess of that published in the official returns. It is probably true, though to a lesser extent, that the 1930 census likewise under-estimates rather than over-estimates the size of the tribe.

At all events, it may be definitely inferred that the Chinantec population is steadily increasing, and that it is not to be classed among the small tribes drifting slowly to extinction. Neither is there cause for any immediate fear of the extinction of the language. The Chinantec are not becoming absorbed by more progressive tribes—and this fear must always remain to tribes bordering on the ambitious and industrious, Zapotec—nor are they becoming effaced in the large towns where Spanish alone holds sway.

The 1930 census gives us details regarding twenty-three **municipios** or townships inhabited in whole or in part by the Chinantec. Of these twenty-three **municipios**, eight are from 90 to 100% Chinantec; four are from 70 to 90% Chinantec; two are more than half Chinantec, and the remaining nine **municipios** contain a majority speaking Spanish or Zapotec.

Since these **municipios** are of greatly varying extent and population one cannot form from the above figures a clear estimate of the isolation of the tribe or of its purity of stock in each individual village. Every **municipio** holds within its jurisdiction a number of **agencias** (small villages), and **rancherías**, and, since the census gives us no details regarding the names or number of these, it is impossible to say how much of the Chinantec region is properly represented. It is likewise unwise to rely on the census returns as data for a linguistic map. Some of the **agencias** may be situated several miles away from the head village or **Municipio**; they may contain not a soul able to fill in a census return. We cannot tell what proportion of such hamlets complied with the Government order.



## THE PEOPLE OF THE FOREST.

Finally, it is not unusual for the population of *agencias* to speak a different language from that of the *Municipio*!

With regard to the classification of bilinguals and monolinguals, there are further considerations to be taken into account. It is natural that many persons with a mere smattering of Spanish would wish to be included among the bilinguals, while the municipal presidents and secretaries would aid and abet them in their own anxiety to prove the villages progressive, and to show that most of the inhabitants could understand what they term "the language of the Government".

There is a distinct and somewhat pathetic inferiority complex among those Chinantec unable to speak Spanish, —a complex which, in more civilized regions, would be shared by those unable to read. It is reasonable to suppose that an element of fear entered their hearts as they tried to answer the formidable array of questions demanded in the Census. How else can we explain the peculiar reaction of the people of Toabela when we asked questions regarding the local dialect? "May-be you are messengers from the Government", complained an old man, "and you come to put to death all those who cannot speak Spanish"! No trace of a smile crossed his lips as he made this unhappy suggestion. It was evident that such a visitation had been long, if vaguely, anticipated. At all events, from the above it will be evident that the ratio between bilinguals and monolinguals must be accepted with caution. The census undoubtedly under-estimates the number of monolinguals.

According to the census, 22,106 persons or practically 90% of the tribe live in villages in which 70% or more of the inhabitants speak, (and therefore are), Chinantec.<sup>(3)</sup> Of these 22,106, 16,613 or just over 75% are monolingual. 11,581 or very nearly half the tribe live in villages more than 90% purely Chinantec, and in these villages, 9,722 or practically 84% of the Chinantec residing there are monolingual.

Owing to the fact that women do not engage in trade, seldom travel and, either through personal fear or by command of their husbands, never talk with strangers, and in fact are liable to vanish or to barricade themselves in their huts at sight of one, it is rare to find a Chinantec woman with a vocabulary of more than half a dozen Spanish words. Sometimes they understand more, but are afraid to speak. Because of this, and not by reason of any mental inferiority, there are far more Chinantec women than men who speak no Spanish.

The proportion of monolinguals to bilinguals is of course highest in the more remote and wholly Chinantec villages, but even in the "border towns", the proportion of monolinguals is extraordinarily high. For example, at Tuxtepec, a large Spanish-speaking town with over 13,000

(3).—We may discount as less than 1% the "foreigners", mainly Zapotec, living in the region and able to converse in Chinantec. Consequently, the figures showing those able to speak the language approximate very closely to the numbers of the tribe. It must be remembered, however, that they do not include those Chinantec who have forgotten their own language and now speak only Spanish.

## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

inhabitants, where but 5% of the population is Chinantec, almost 40% of these are monolingual. They live on the outskirts of the town and act as laborers in the neighboring plantations, but make little attempt to master the language of their employers. Again at Jalapa de Diaz, where they form less than 2% of the population, more than half the forty Chinantec residing there speak only their own language. In the "border-towns" as a whole, in which the 2,101 Chinantec who dwell there form a mere 8.02% of the population of these towns, 967 or 46% are monolingual.

In the 3rd table at the end of this chapter is shown the population, Chinantec and otherwise, of seven of the township among the Hu-me and Wah-mi. Tuxtepec, San Juan Comaltepec and Choapam are placed in the 5th table, which lists the "border-towns".

Since, as stated above, the Census does not mention the names or number of hamlets included in the returns from these *municipios*, the resultant figures are liable to provide us with a somewhat false and exaggerated idea of the size of a Chinantec villages. In these returns, Lalana appears to contain 2,642 inhabitants. In reality it is doubtful whether it contains more than 800. El Arenal, its derivative and still subject to it, may contain as many as a thousand, but it is evident that at least one other hamlet, (possibly Lacova or Boca del Monte), is included in the general figure for Lalana.

The largest Chinantec villages, —in order of size—are Ojitlan, Usila, Valle-Nacional, San Juan Quiotepec, Yolox and San Pedro Sochiapam. Without counting their various *agencias*, each of the first three probably contains more than 2,000 inhabitants. Apart from these little towns, it is rare for a true Chinantec village to contain more than 800 persons, and the majority of villages are mere hamlets containing considerably less. Tepinapa was said to have thirty *contribuyentes* or voters and 214 persons all-told. Lacova has sixteen *contribuyentes* and a total population of 125. Lachixola, (which is almost certainly included in the census return for Jocotepec), has sixteen *contribuyentes* and 90 inhabitants, while Toabela, with twenty-five *contribuyentes*, has only 80 inhabitants. (4)

In each of these remote villages, (not specifically mentioned in the census), there can scarcely be living more than one or two persons not speaking Chinantec, —a schoolmaster at Tepinapa; the municipal secretary (!) and a Zapotec bee-keeper at Toabela—these are all that come to mind. But, according to the census, the most purely Chinantec villages among the Wah-mi are Petlapa (100%) and Ozumazin (91.85%). In both of these, the percentage of monolinguals is correspondingly high—, as much as 91.52% in the latter *municipio*.

The comparatively small percentage, (72.02) of Chinantec shown

(4).—These figures were given to us by the local municipal secretaries or presidents themselves. They do not claim accuracy, but are reasonably correct. The figures given to us at Petlapa and Ozumazin tally very fairly with those quoted from the census.



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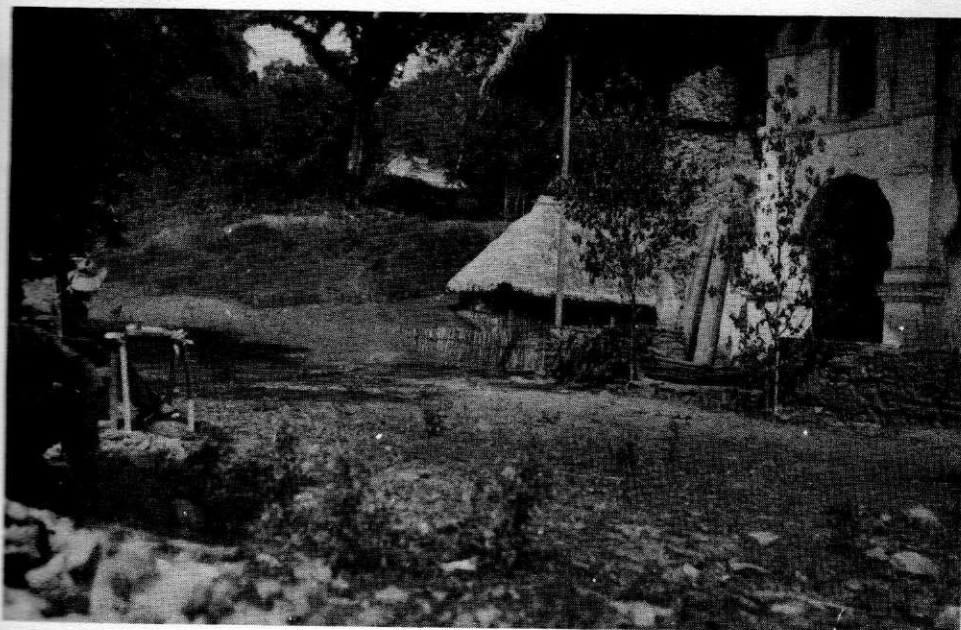
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17.—R. J. W.

Lacova

The Plaza. Note, to the left, the dummy figure of Judas Escariot, placed here for the Easter ceremonies.



18.—J. A. S.

The Municipio at Lachixola



PLATE 10



19.—R. J. W.

**Lalana. Group of Chinantec**

Above a red skirt called "chiapaneco" they wear a long white huipil, sometimes hemmed in red. For the most part these huipiles are woven for the Chinantec by the Zapotec.



20.—B. B.

**Chinantec women at Lacova**

## THE PEOPLE OF THE FOREST.

in the census return for Lalana may be accounted for by the steady influx of Zapotec from Villa-Alta. In the villages of the Valle Nacional, namely Chiltepec, Valle-Nacional and Jacatepec, the even lower percentage of Chinantec and the large number of persons not speaking Chinantec at all are primarily due to the importation of labor on the "foreign-owned" banana plantations, and to the proximity of Tuxtepec with its rail, road and river traffic.

The Northern and Western region, (See the 4th table), shows an even greater preponderance of Chinantec over non Chinantec than in the Wah-mi area. In a total population of 17,484, only 1,487 do not speak the local tongue. If we omit Ojitlan from this table, we find that in six **municipios** there live 10,425 persons, and of these, only 70 do not speak Chinantec, —indeed a remarkable figure! In these six **municipios**, moreover, four are over 99% Chinantec, and the remaining two are both over 98% Chinantec. Usila, with its more than 4,300 inhabitants, contains only 28 persons unable to speak Chinantec, while Yolox and Quiotepec, each with more than 1,600 inhabitants, possess respectively fourteen and four "foreigners", and the latter **municipio** contains only 14 Chinantec able to speak Spanish. Twelve of them are men and only two are women—, proportions which are again highly significant. Finally, there is little Tlacoatzintepec, where all the 742 inhabitants speak Chinantec, and where only seven can converse in Spanish.

The fifth table, which shows the population of the "border towns" is chiefly interesting as a check to our knowledge of the tribal boundaries. It is, however, unreliable for this purpose since, as already noted, the census returns for each **municipio** do not necessarily prove the Chinantec to be living in the principal village. They may exist perhaps only in a **ranchería** or in a hamlet within its jurisdiction but many miles away. Thus, the inclusion in this table of both Comaltepec and Choapam is misleading. In Choapam itself, to our knowledge, no Chinantec is spoken. It is probable that the 343 members of the tribe residing in the **municipio** hail from Teotalcingo, a purely Chinantec village just over the mountains, or from Latani, across the valley from Choapam and said to be half Chinantec, half Zapotec.

Especially interesting is the inclusion of Atlatlauca as a Chinantec **municipio**. This village, mentioned in the first chapter as being in the District of Etla, lies a bare ten miles, as the crow flies, from the Oaxaca-Tehuacan railroad, and is thus by far the most westerly town inhabited by this tribe. Atlatlauca was a Chinantec village in 1579. It is now, apparently, a "satellite" of Yolox, the Chinantec here being all recent immigrants from this town.

The above tables of figures definitely prove the isolation of the tribe within its boundaries, and *Mexico en Cifras*, relying on the earlier data supplied by the census, provides us with further surprising information on this point. Out of a total Chinantec population at that time



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estimated as 24,073, it is stated that 23,981 were dwelling in their "habitat". Only 92 were found to be living outside. Just how this figure was obtained, and just what constitutes "outside" from an official point of view are questions needing explanation, but it is quite evident that the Chinantec, who do not travel, who do not occupy positions away from home and who do not even trade outside their own territory, are not an ambitious people!

Finally, a word must be said concerning the "foreigners" living within the Chinantec area. We have mentioned the growing colony of Zapotec from Villa-Alta settled at Lalana, and the Spanish-speaking Mexicans in the Valle Nacional, where bananas are grown on an extensive scale. Schoolmasters, almost invariably Zapotec, are now to be found in a surprising number of Chinantec pueblos, while very often too, there is a Zapotec municipal secretary.

A. L. Velasco, (5) writing in 1891, and presumably basing his figures on the census of 1888, says that the District of Choapam contained 11,343 inhabitants. Of these, he says, sixty-eight were *meztizos* and the rest *indigenas*! The District of Choapam contains Zapotec and Mije as well as Chinantec, and there would probably have been many more "foreigners" in this region than in the purely Chinantec-speaking localities. The proportion of non-Chinantec in the Chinantec area is obviously much larger now, but these figures, taken in conjunction with the high proportion of monolinguals still to be found and the very few Chinantec living outside their "habitat" prove how little the region has been exploited within late years.

Since the Revolution, most of the large coffee *fincas*, banana and tobacco plantations have ceased to exist. The Chinantec are poorer and more isolated now than when Velasco wrote of his 68 *meztizos* in a population of over eleven thousand!

Resulting directly from this isolation is the remarkable purity of the Chinantec stock.

The Chinantec, unlike the Mije and Zapotec, form a racial as well as a linguistic unit. The type is peculiarly well-marked and easy to recognize once familiarity with it has been established. Naturally, the characteristic type is not found universally all through the Chinantla, but it appears far more often than the genuinely Mije type (with notably conical forehead) among the Mije, or the ancient aquiline Zapotec type among the modern Zapotec. This is especially the case in the Wah-mi area. Here, there is comparatively little variation between pueblo and pueblo, and in certain villages, the resemblance between the young women is so striking that they might well be all mistaken for sisters!

With the men there is greater variation, and alas only too often, their faces are ravaged by excessive drinking, which gives to them a

(5).—Geografía y Estadística del Estado de Oaxaca.



sudden imbecile expression which is again very characteristic. The women, therefore, are on the whole of purer type, —and of infinitely better physique.

The color is usually very dark, —especially among the men—but in this there is great variety, and it appears to lighten with age. The head is noticeably wide, somewhat conical, and covered with a mass of very coarse and uniformly jet-black "penwiper" hair. The eyes, often fine, with very black pupils contrasting forcibly with the dead white of the eyeballs are widely separated. They are often "almond-shaped" and set obliquely; this characteristic being most apparent in the children and younger women, many of whom are, in their own peculiar way, decidedly good-looking. The mouth is usually large and the lips abnormally thick. The upper lip often projects markedly beyond the lower, although this, too, is heavy and droops outwards, away from the teeth, which are very fine and regular. The nose is wide and the bridge low. On the other hand, particularly among the older men, a fine aquiline nose is occasionally seen. The typically Indian moustache, a small growth of straggling bristles, very thinly spaced and growing only over or round the ends of the mouth, is almost universal among those of middle or advancing age. The feet and hands are small despite the hard manual labor and much exercise to which all are accustomed. As with all peoples who do not normally wear shoes or even sandals, the big toe is widely separated from the other toes, and these are again widely separated, each from each. That the feet are hard and tough, even for Indians, was proved for us when we saw a man kill an *alacran* by stepping on it barefoot!

Finally, a word will not be out of place concerning Chinantec diseases, for two of these have considerable effect on the appearance of the people.

Very common in certain villages is the disease known as *Pinto* or "Mexican Leprosy", which marks first the face and shoulders and later the whole body with ugly black blotches. Sometimes also, it turns the hands and feet white. In no case, however, does it appear to effect in any way the bodily strength or capabilities of the sufferer. Correct figures and a map showing the distribution of this disease would be of considerable interest, for while it is very prevalent in some villages, in others, located only a few miles away, it is conspicuously absent.

Among the Wah-mi, *pinto* appears to have affected some 80% or more of the inhabitants of Tepinapa, Jocotepec, Lachixola, Lacova and Ozumazin, and to a somewhat lesser though still marked degree, those of Lalana, El Arenal, Toabela and Lovani. No "pintos" are found at Petlapa or Teotalcingo.

Pintos are rare in the Valle Nacional and in all villages of the dry Yolox area. In the North-Western area, they are found in great quantity at San Pedro Sochiapam, Zapotitlan, Tlacoatzintepec and Santiago Tlatepusco. Quetzalapa, less than three leagues from Zapotitlan, has no *pintos* and prohibits their entry into the village!



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The other remarkable disease found among the Chinantec is Onchocercosis, a blindness induced, it seems, by tiny worms—*filariae* and *microfilariae*—injected in the bite of the small black, red or grey flies known as **Rodadores** and **Alazanes**.

The disease is first made apparent by curious lumps or tumors on the head or shoulders. In due course, the *microfilariae*, bred from the *filariae* in these lumps, are found all through the skin of the victim, and particularly in the face, which periodically becomes inflamed and turns gradually an ashy yellow grey. After some months, the eyes become seriously infected. They water copiously and become clouded and brown. Once the disease has reached this stage it is incurable, and in due course the victim loses his sight. However, if taken in time, i. e. before the eyes are smitten, it is easily cured by the simple removal of the *filariae*-containing tumors.

Onchocercosis, apparently unknown in Mexico save in this one small area, where it was discovered in 1916 by Dr. Reko, is most prevalent at Tiltepec, (in adjacent Zapotec territory), and in nearly all the villages of the dry Yolox district, especially Totomoxtle and its *rancherías* at Cuasimulco—in which place it is said perhaps with some exaggeration, that 70% of the people are blind—at San Francisco de las Llagas, at Yolox, Comaltepec and Quiotepec. Outside this region, it is known at Santa Cruz Tepetotutla and San Antonio del Barrio, while it is said also to be found at Ozumazin—which is not far from Tiltepec—but of this we obtained no proof. A few cases have been reported from Yezelala, beyond Lovani.

It is sad to add that although the Government has sent doctors into the region to remove the Onchocercosis tumors, most of the persons afflicted are afraid of the operation and flee at the doctors' approach. Some villages, including Totomoxtle and Las Llagas definitely refused to assist the doctors in their efforts to free them of this scourge.

## NANTEC REGION

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## POPULATION TABLES





# THE CHIEF TRIBES OF MEXICO

Table to Show the Total Numbers, with  
Number and Percentage of Monolinguals

TRIBE	TOTAL POPULATION	MONOLINGUALS	PERCENTAGE OF MONOLINGUALS
Artec	670,595	356,235	53.122%
	279,093	131,836	47.237%
	218,811	94,693	43.276%
	216,825	111,660	51.477%
	172,114	111,391	64.719%
	90,425	58,561	64.761%
	77,715	29,269	37.661%
	55,343	45,253	81.768%
	44,371	15,243	34.353%
	41,271	21,003	50.890%
	40,342	32,363	80.221%
	34,253	26,231	76.580%
	31,698	24,023	75.787%
	26,834	14,108	52.575%
	26,815	6,100	22.748%
	24,836	17,603	70.876%
	21,685	3,420	15.771%
	20,969	9,228	44.007%
	20,927	3,813	18.220%
	16,903	15,125	89.481%
	16,479	13,287	80.629%
	11,739	8,208	69.920%
	9,221	5,744	62.292%
	8,496	1,439	16.937%
	8,247	5,779	70.073%
	7,183	2,134	29.709%
	4,738	1,018	21.485%
	4,135	2,363	57.146%
	3,716	1,888	50.807%
Pames	2,765	1,299	46.980%
	2,741	2,148	78.365%
	2,308	372	16.117%
	1,167	151	12.939%
	656	4	—,609%
	535	222	41.453%
	172	102	59.302%
	118	62	52.542%

The above figures are taken from the Census of 1930, as shown in "México en 1930" and the "Resumen General" of the Census, both published in 1934.

The tribes shown in black are found in whole or in part in the State of Oaxaca.

(118)—Data for this tribe is taken from recently corrected figures, not from 1930 figures, not from México en Cifras.





## THE TRIBES OF OAXACA

Table Showing the Indigenous Languages  
Spoken and the Percentage  
of Monolinguals

	TRIBE	TOTAL POPULATION	MONOLINGUALS	PERCENTAGE OF MONOLINGUALS
1	Zapotecos	216,825	111,660	51,477%
2	Mixtecos.	172,114	111,391	64,719%
3	Mazatecos.	55,343	45,253	81,768%
4	Mijes.	31,698	24,023	75,787%
5	Chinantecos.	24,836	17,603	70,876%
6 (1)	Zoques.	20,969	9,228	44,007%
7 (2)	Popolocas.	20,927	3,813	18,220%
8	Chatinos.	11,739	8,208	69,920%
9	Cuicatecos.	9,221	5,744	62,292%
10 (3)	Chontales.	8,496	1,439	16,937%
11	Amusgos.	8,247	5,779	70,073%
12	Huaves.	4,135	2,363	57,146%
13	Triques.	2,741	2,148	78,365%
14	Chochos.	2,308	372	16,117%
15	Ixcatecos.	656	4	—,609%
16	Ojitecos.	172	102	59,302%

These figures are taken from the Census of 1930, as shown in "México en Cifras" and the "Resúmen General" of the Census, both published in 1934.

No children under five years of age are included in these figures. Data regarding the Chinantec are taken from recently corrected figures.

(1).—The majority of this tribe is found in Chiapas.

(2).—The Majority of this tribe is found in the State of Puebla.

(3).—The Majority of this tribe is found in the State of Tabasco.



TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF DATA FOR THE YEAR 1964

STATION	DATE	TIME	TEMPERATURE (°C)	WIND SPEED (km/h)	WIND DIRECTION	RELATIVE HUMIDITY (%)	SEA STATE
1	1964-01-01	0800	15.2	12	090	78	1
1	1964-01-01	1200	16.5	15	080	75	1
1	1964-01-01	1600	17.8	18	070	72	1
1	1964-01-01	2000	18.5	20	060	70	1
1	1964-01-01	2400	19.2	22	050	68	1
1	1964-01-02	0000	19.8	24	040	65	1
1	1964-01-02	0400	20.5	26	030	62	1
1	1964-01-02	0800	21.2	28	020	60	1
1	1964-01-02	1200	22.0	30	010	58	1
1	1964-01-02	1600	22.8	32	000	55	1
1	1964-01-02	2000	23.5	34	350	52	1
1	1964-01-02	2400	24.2	36	340	50	1
1	1964-01-03	0000	25.0	38	330	48	1
1	1964-01-03	0400	25.8	40	320	45	1
1	1964-01-03	0800	26.5	42	310	42	1
1	1964-01-03	1200	27.2	44	300	40	1
1	1964-01-03	1600	28.0	46	290	38	1
1	1964-01-03	2000	28.8	48	280	35	1
1	1964-01-03	2400	29.5	50	270	32	1
1	1964-01-04	0000	30.2	52	260	30	1
1	1964-01-04	0400	31.0	54	250	28	1
1	1964-01-04	0800	31.8	56	240	25	1
1	1964-01-04	1200	32.5	58	230	22	1
1	1964-01-04	1600	33.2	60	220	20	1
1	1964-01-04	2000	34.0	62	210	18	1
1	1964-01-04	2400	34.8	64	200	15	1
1	1964-01-05	0000	35.5	66	190	12	1
1	1964-01-05	0400	36.2	68	180	10	1
1	1964-01-05	0800	37.0	70	170	8	1
1	1964-01-05	1200	37.8	72	160	5	1
1	1964-01-05	1600	38.5	74	150	3	1
1	1964-01-05	2000	39.2	76	140	2	1
1	1964-01-05	2400	40.0	78	130	1	1
1	1964-01-06	0000	40.8	80	120	0	1
1	1964-01-06	0400	41.5	82	110	0	1
1	1964-01-06	0800	42.2	84	100	0	1
1	1964-01-06	1200	43.0	86	090	0	1
1	1964-01-06	1600	43.8	88	080	0	1
1	1964-01-06	2000	44.5	90	070	0	1
1	1964-01-06	2400	45.2	92	060	0	1
1	1964-01-07	0000	46.0	94	050	0	1
1	1964-01-07	0400	46.8	96	040	0	1
1	1964-01-07	0800	47.5	98	030	0	1
1	1964-01-07	1200	48.2	100	020	0	1
1	1964-01-07	1600	49.0	102	010	0	1
1	1964-01-07	2000	49.8	104	000	0	1
1	1964-01-07	2400	50.5	106	350	0	1
1	1964-01-08	0000	51.2	108	340	0	1
1	1964-01-08	0400	52.0	110	330	0	1
1	1964-01-08	0800	52.8	112	320	0	1
1	1964-01-08	1200	53.5	114	310	0	1
1	1964-01-08	1600	54.2	116	300	0	1
1	1964-01-08	2000	55.0	118	290	0	1
1	1964-01-08	2400	55.8	120	280	0	1
1	1964-01-09	0000	56.5	122	270	0	1
1	1964-01-09	0400	57.2	124	260	0	1
1	1964-01-09	0800	58.0	126	250	0	1
1	1964-01-09	1200	58.8	128	240	0	1
1	1964-01-09	1600	59.5	130	230	0	1
1	1964-01-09	2000	60.2	132	220	0	1
1	1964-01-09	2400	61.0	134	210	0	1
1	1964-01-10	0000	61.8	136	200	0	1
1	1964-01-10	0400	62.5	138	190	0	1
1	1964-01-10	0800	63.2	140	180	0	1
1	1964-01-10	1200	64.0	142	170	0	1
1	1964-01-10	1600	64.8	144	160	0	1
1	1964-01-10	2000	65.5	146	150	0	1
1	1964-01-10	2400	66.2	148	140	0	1
1	1964-01-11	0000	67.0	150	130	0	1
1	1964-01-11	0400	67.8	152	120	0	1
1	1964-01-11	0800	68.5	154	110	0	1
1	1964-01-11	1200	69.2	156	100	0	1
1	1964-01-11	1600	70.0	158	090	0	1
1	1964-01-11	2000	70.8	160	080	0	1
1	1964-01-11	2400	71.5	162	070	0	1
1	1964-01-12	0000	72.2	164	060	0	1
1	1964-01-12	0400	73.0	166	050	0	1
1	1964-01-12	0800	73.8	168	040	0	1
1	1964-01-12	1200	74.5	170	030	0	1
1	1964-01-12	1600	75.2	172	020	0	1
1	1964-01-12	2000	76.0	174	010	0	1
1	1964-01-12	2400	76.8	176	000	0	1
1	1964-01-13	0000	77.5	178	350	0	1
1	1964-01-13	0400	78.2	180	340	0	1
1	1964-01-13	0800	79.0	182	330	0	1
1	1964-01-13	1200	79.8	184	320	0	1
1	1964-01-13	1600	80.5	186	310	0	1
1	1964-01-13	2000	81.2	188	300	0	1
1	1964-01-13	2400	82.0	190	290	0	1
1	1964-01-14	0000	82.8	192	280	0	1
1	1964-01-14	0400	83.5	194	270	0	1
1	1964-01-14	0800	84.2	196	260	0	1
1	1964-01-14	1200	85.0	198	250	0	1
1	1964-01-14	1600	85.8	200	240	0	1
1	1964-01-14	2000	86.5	202	230	0	1
1	1964-01-14	2400	87.2	204	220	0	1
1	1964-01-15	0000	88.0	206	210	0	1
1	1964-01-15	0400	88.8	208	200	0	1
1	1964-01-15	0800	89.5	210	190	0	1
1	1964-01-15	1200	90.2	212	180	0	1
1	1964-01-15	1600	91.0	214	170	0	1
1	1964-01-15	2000	91.8	216	160	0	1
1	1964-01-15	2400	92.5	218	150	0	1
1	1964-01-16	0000	93.2	220	140	0	1
1	1964-01-16	0400	94.0	222	130	0	1
1	1964-01-16	0800	94.8	224	120	0	1
1	1964-01-16	1200	95.5	226	110	0	1
1	1964-01-16	1600	96.2	228	100	0	1
1	1964-01-16	2000	97.0	230	090	0	1
1	1964-01-16	2400	97.8	232	080	0	1
1	1964-01-17	0000	98.5	234	070	0	1
1	1964-01-17	0400	99.2	236	060	0	1
1	1964-01-17	0800	100.0	238	050	0	1
1	1964-01-17	1200	100.8	240	040	0	1
1	1964-01-17	1600	101.5	242	030	0	1
1	1964-01-17	2000	102.2	244	020	0	1
1	1964-01-17	2400	103.0	246	010	0	1
1	1964-01-18	0000	103.8	248	000	0	1
1	1964-01-18	0400	104.5	250	350	0	1
1	1964-01-18	0800	105.2	252	340	0	1
1	1964-01-18	1200	106.0	254	330	0	1
1	1964-01-18	1600	106.8	256	320	0	1
1	1964-01-18	2000	107.5	258	310	0	1
1	1964-01-18	2400	108.2	260	300	0	1
1	1964-01-19	0000	109.0	262	290	0	1
1	1964-01-19	0400	109.8	264	280	0	1
1	1964-01-19	0800	110.5	266	270	0	1
1	1964-01-19	1200	111.2	268	260	0	1
1	1964-01-19	1600	112.0	270	250	0	1
1	1964-01-19	2000	112.8	272	240	0	1
1	1964-01-19	2400	113.5	274	230	0	1
1	1964-01-20	0000	114.2	276	220	0	1
1	1964-01-20	0400	115.0	278	210	0	1
1	1964-01-20	0800	115.8	280	200	0	1
1	1964-01-20	1200	116.5	282	190	0	1
1	1964-01-20	1600	117.2	284	180	0	1
1	1964-01-20	2000	118.0	286	170	0	1
1	1964-01-20	2400	118.8	288	160	0	1
1	1964-01-21	0000	119.5	290	150	0	1
1	1964-01-21	0400	120.2	292	140	0	1
1	1964-01-21	0800	121.0	294	130	0	1
1	1964-01-21	1200	121.8	296	120	0	1
1	1964-01-21	1600	122.5	298	110	0	1
1	1964-01-21	2000	123.2	300	100	0	1
1	1964-01-21	2400	124.0	302	090	0	1
1	1964-01-22	0000	124.8	304	080	0	1
1	1964-01-22	0400	125.5	306	070	0	1
1	1964-01-22	0800	126.2	308	060	0	1
1	1964-01-22	1200	127.0	310	050	0	1
1	1964-01-22	1600	127.8	312	040	0	1
1	1964-01-22	2000	128.5	314	030	0	1
1	1964-01-22	2400	129.2	316	020	0	1
1	1964-01-23	0000	130.0	318	010	0	1
1	1964-01-23	0400	130.8	320	000	0	1
1	1964-01-23	0800	131.5	322	350	0	1
1	1964-01-23	1200	132.2	324	340	0	1
1	1964-01-23	1600	133.0	326	330	0	1
1	1964-01-23	2000	133.8	328	320	0	1
1	1964-01-23	2400	134.5	330	310	0	1
1	1964-01-24	0000	135.2	332	300	0	1
1	1964-01-24	0400	136.0	334	290	0	1
1	1964-01-24	0800	136.8	336	280	0	1
1	1964-01-24	1200	137.5	338	270	0	1
1	1964-01-24	1600	138.2	340	260	0	1
1	1964-01-24	2000	139.0	342	250	0	1
1	1964-01-24	2400	139.8	344	240	0	1
1	1964-01-25	0000	140.5	346	230	0	1
1	1964-01-25	0400	141.2	348	220	0	1
1	1964-01-25	0800	142.0	350	210	0	1
1	1964-01-25	1200	142.8	352	200	0	1
1	1964-01-25	1600	143.5	354	190	0	1
1	1964-01-25	2000	144				

# POPULATION TABLES

## III

### The Hu-me and the Wah-mi

MUNICIPIO	TOTAL POPULATION.	DO NOT SPEAK CHINANTEC	SPEAK CHINANTEC.	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN MUNICIPIO.	SPEAK SPANISH AND CHINANTEC.	SPEAK ONLY CHINANTEC.	PERCENTAGE SPEAKING ONLY CHINANTEC
Palmar (S. Juan).	2,642	607	2,035	77.02%	758	1,227	62.75%
San Juan	719	None	719	100.00%	95	624	86.79%
San Juan	981	247	734	74.81%	348	386	52.59%
San Juan	1,019	490	529	51.82%	512	17	3.21%
San Juan	2,862	748	2,114	73.86%	1,189	925	43.75%
San Juan	552	45	507	91.85%	43	464	91.52%
San Juan	539	439	100	18.55%	94	6	6.00%
	9,314	2,576	6,738	72.34%	3,039	3,699	54.81%



	0717	0712	0738	1574	0709	0703	0712
1. (1917) (1917)	240	433	100	12202	01	2	0703
2. (1917) (1917)	225	72	301	0702	73	901	0712
3. (1917) (1917)	203	132	177	12202	1123	332	0712
4. (1917) (1917)	1010	160	222	0703	215	31	0712
5. (1917) (1917)	201	301	101	0712	298	300	0703
6. (1917) (1917)	115	100	010	10000	32	671	0712
7. (1917) (1917)	0015	001	002	0703	102	1001	0712

THE END OF THE WORLD

III

RECEIVED JAN 1917

# POPULATION TABLES

## IV

### The Northern and Western Chinantec Regions

MUNICIPIO	TOTAL POPULATION.	DO NOT SPEAK CHINANTEC.	SPEAK CHINANTEC.	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN MUNICIPIO.	SPEAK SPANISH AND CHINANTEC.	SPEAK ONLY CHINANTEC.	PERCENTAGE SPEAKING ONLY CHINANTEC
Agatlan (Llacas)	7,059	1,417	5,642	79.99%	1,339	4,303	76.27%
Usila (S. Felipe).	4,315	28	4,287	99.35%	964	3,323	77.51%
Guamitepec, (Santiago).	755	11	744	98.43%	138	606	81.45%
Tepec (S. Pedro),	1,698	14	1,684	99.18%	394	1,290	76.60%
Quioquepec, (S. Juan),	1,645	4	1,641	99.57%	14	1,627	99.15%
Sochiapan, (S. Pedro).	1,270	13	1,257	98.98%	204	1,053	83.77%
Maninaltepec, (S. Juan Baut.)	742	None	742	100.00%	7	735	99.06%
	17,484	1,487	15,997	91.49%	3,060	12,937	80.87%

#### Total Figures for the

Central & South-Eastern Region, (Wah-mi- and Hu-me) and the the Northern and Western Region

26,798	4,063	22,735	84.84%	6,099	16,636	73.17%
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#### NOTE

The Municipality of Usila includes within its jurisdiction the villages of Mayultianguis, Santiago Tlatepusco, San Antonio del Barrio and Tepetitlan.

Yolox includes La Soledad Tetitlán, El Barrio Temexitlan and San Francisco de las Llagas.

Quiotepec includes Maninaltepec and perhaps other villages.

Sochiapan includes Quetzalapa, Zapotitlan and Zautla.





# POPULATION TABLES

## V

### "Border Towns"

MUNICIPIO	TOTAL POPULATION.	DO NOT SPEAK CHINANTEC.	SPEAK CHINANTEC.	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN MUNICIPIO.	SPEAK SPANISH AND CHINANTEC.	SPEAK ONLY CHINANTEC.	PERCENTAGE SPEAKING ONLY CHINANTEC
Jalapa de Díaz, (S. Juan Bau- tista)	13,791	13,072	719	5.21%	436	283	39.36%
Jalapa de Díaz, (S. Felipe),	3,604	3,564	40	1.11%	17	.23	57.50%
Choapam, (Santiago).	1,377	1,034	343	24.91%	183	160	46.65%
Comaltepec, (S. Juan)	709	463	246	34.69%	121	125	50.81%
Atlatlauca, (S. Juan Bau- tista)	861	395	466	54.12%	298	168	36.05%
Ayautla, (S. Bartolome)	2,143	2,126	17	79%	13	4	23.53%
Macuiltianguis, (S. Pablo),	513	512	1	19%	1	None	.....
Tepeucila, (S. Juan).	1,670		0	1.80%	21	9	30.00%
Teotilalpam, (S. Andres),	1,515	1,276	239	15.77%	44	195	81.59%
	26,183	24,082	2,101	8.02%	1,134	967	46.02%
Grand Total:	52,981	28,145	24,836	46.88%	7,233	17,603	70.88%

## NOTE

At Tuxtepec, the majority speak Spanish only. At Jalapa de Díaz, they speak Spanish or Mazatec. At Choapam, Comaltepec, Atlatlauca and Macuiltianguis, the majority speak Zapotec. At Ayautla, the majority speak Mazatec. At Tepeucila and Teotilalpam, the majority speak Cuicatec.



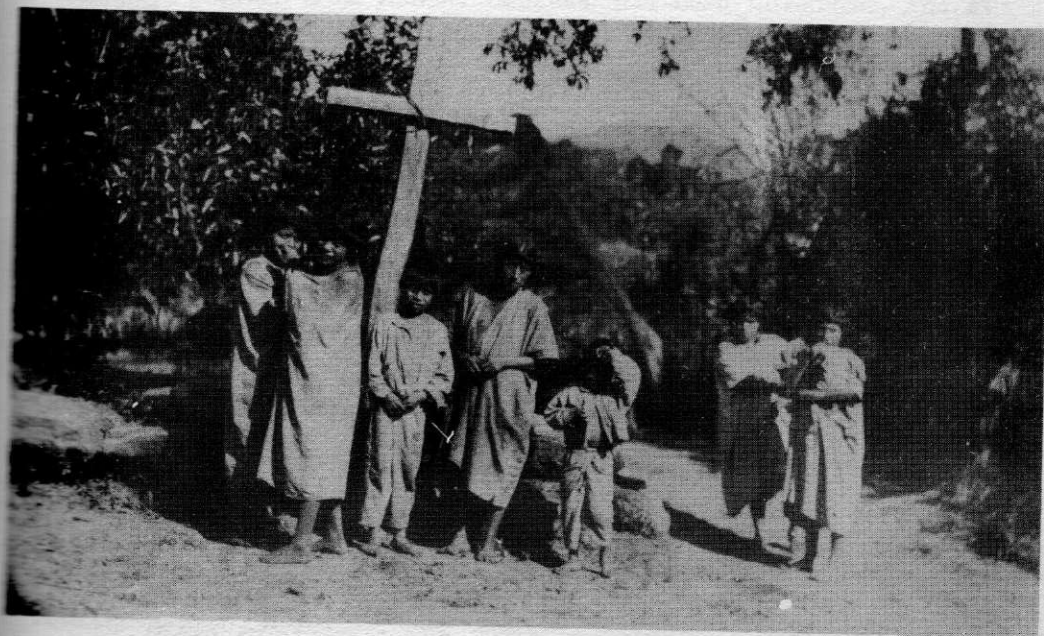




21.—B. B.

**Chinantec women at Tepinapa**

Note the "waterproofs" made from straw



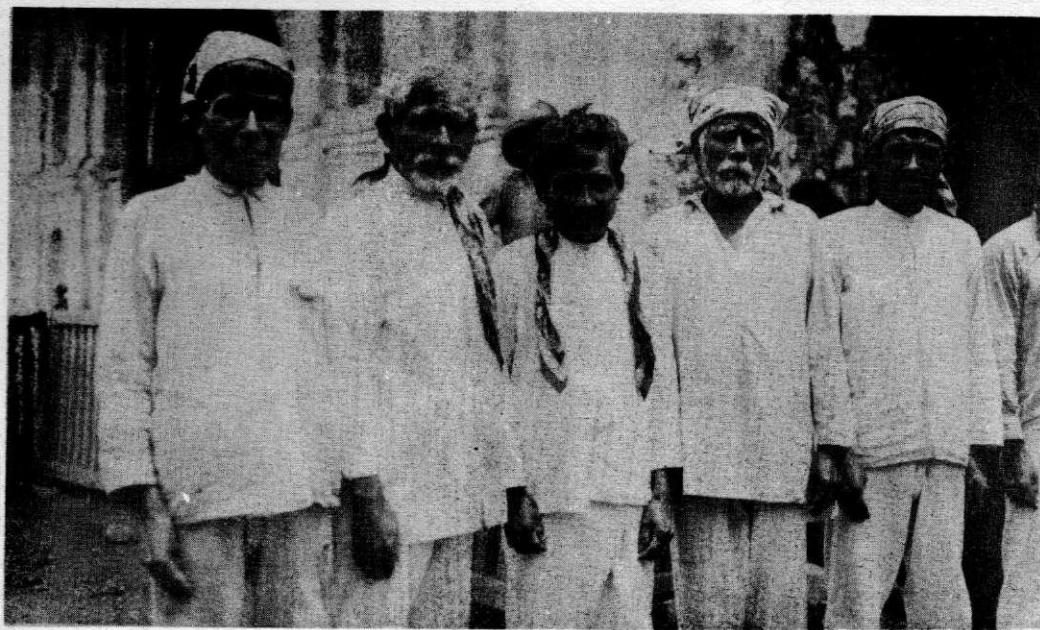
22.—I. W.

**Beside the Cross at Petlapa**

Note the great similarity of types among the women in these villages.



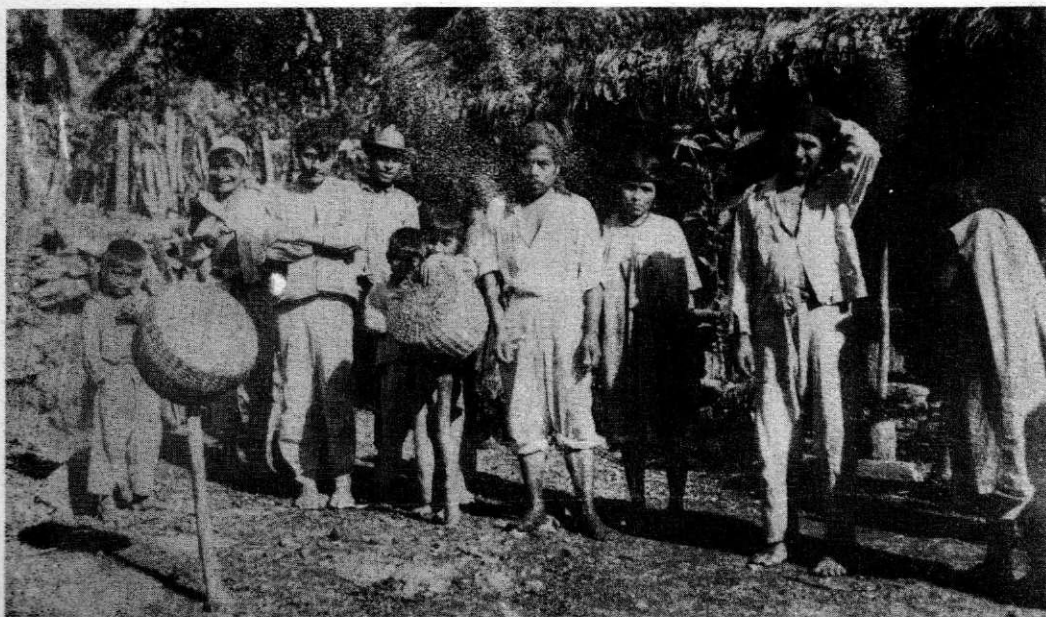
PLATE 12



23.—R. J. W.

Ancianos at Ozumazin.

Note the greatly varying types among the men, in strange contrast to the purit of type among the women.



24.—I. W.

Toabela

Group showing the Presidente Municipal, (in center, wearing red bandana), his family, the Zapotec Secretario Municipal, (left) etc. The baskets are a specialty of the region and were formerly made in great quantity at Teotalcingo.

## CHAPTER IV

### ECONOMIC FACTORS

Some forty years ago certain parts of the Chinantla were famed for their coffee and tobacco. The latter was grown chiefly in the Valle Nacional, around Tuxtepec, at Ojitlan and Usila, and great impetus was given to the tobacco industry by the arrival of refugees from the Cuban Revolution. Vanilla, cotton and cacao, (the latter always of poor quality), were grown for export in the Valle Nacional, at Ojitlan and near Soyaltepec, in the neighboring Mazatec mountains, and the entire region was then in a flourishing condition.

Since that time, however, political upheavals have come by the score, bringing misery and poverty in their wake, and the export, out of the Chinantla, of all these crops—save coffee—has ceased absolutely. Tobacco is still grown by and for the natives themselves on little plantations at Usila and in the Valle Nacional, but the amount produced is insignificant.

Happily, another crop, namely bananas, has been introduced, and at the present day, bananas and coffee form the staple exports,—the sole medium by which any considerable amount of money reaches the Chinantla.

Bananas are cultivated upon extensive plantations in the Valle Nacional and for a short distance up the valley of the Rio de San Cristobal or Soyolapam. A narrow-gauge railroad now under construction will eventually carry them to the coastal plain, but meanwhile, they are placed on barges and floated down the river to Tuxtepec, where they are packed in trains. Last year, there was talk of the planting of another large finca, beside the Rio Cajones, between Ozumazin and Tepinapa, whence barges were to carry the bananas down the Tesechoacan to Playa Vicente and Villa-Azueta, but whether these plans will mature is an open question. The climate of the Valle Nacional and of other localities in the foothills, is subject to great variation, and has not proved so well suited to the cultivation of bananas as was anticipated by the first planters, and it is now found that only the plain—East of the foothills—fulfills all the requirements. The plantations of the United Fruit Company, below Tuxtepec, and outside the Chinantla, are the most flourishing in the region, for here the climate is much less variable.



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All the above-named *plataneras* are in the hands of large companies, and by reducing the Chinantec to the status of mere laborers, working for a daily or a weekly wage, have tended to break up the old communal institutions and social organization of the tribe precisely as did the Spanish-owned *haciendas* and *fincas* elsewhere in Mexico. To the existence of banana plantations we owe the "civilized" aspect of the Valle Nacional and the gradual abolition of the old costumes, but there is still no Chinantec word for *peon*, and away from the plantations, its meaning seems to be scarcely understood!

While the cultivation of bananas is limited to only one or two small areas in the Chinantla—and principally to the Valle Nacional—the growing of coffee is general practically all through the region.

Chinantec coffee has no great reputation like the coffee of Tapachula, near the Guatemala border, but if it could be tested on its merits alone, it would receive high praise almost anywhere in the world. It is well known in Oaxaca and greatly prized by the Zapotec.

Before the Revolution, there were large "*Cafetales*" in many parts of the Chinantla, but, alas, nearly all these have now disappeared. The largest surviving, a French enterprise and known as La Union Francesa, is situated on the Western boundary, between Zapotitlan and Tepeucila. Another, smaller, is located nearby and is known as the Cafetal Moctezuma. In both these cases, the coffee is transported by donkey to Cuicatlan.

In other parts, where "*gente de razon*" do not actually own the plantations, the Chinantec themselves grow coffee for sale, and the "foreign" coffee-buyers send their own agents to buy from the villages. These agents are nearly always Zapotec, and carry the coffee back to Villa-Alta, Yalalag, Choapam, Ixtlan and Oaxaca, or down to the Eastern plain at Tuxtepec and Playa-Vicente. Sometimes, the itinerant Zapotec vendors who traverse the region will bring *ollas* and pottery cooking utensils, and exchange these for coffee. The chief hindrance to expansion of trade in this direction lies in the difficulty of the trails.

Coffee and bananas, therefore, are the staple exports of the Chinantla—, indeed they are the **only** exports. The bananas are in the hands of large companies administered from Mexico City or abroad, and the coffee is mainly in the hands of the Zapotec although, formerly, it too was grown exclusively by "*gente de razon*".

The other,—ancient, crops,—corn and beans—are grown by the Chinantec solely for their own sustenance. They are not exported; they are not even traded between one Chinantec village and another except in exceptional circumstances. There is practically no trade in these crops between persons of the same village, and it is sometimes impossible for a traveler to buy sufficient for his own personal needs while making a brief sojourn. The people sadly explain it is not that they do not wish to sell their corn but that they have only just enough for themselves. The fact is that there is a genuine scarcity of corn, and, it appears, there always

has been, indeed the scarcity was as times far more serious than at present, for not many years ago, travellers were robbed and killed for the sake of a few *maquilas*. The lack of corn is also as valid a reason for the absence of beasts of burden in the Chinantla as the poor state of the trails. And that beans too are scarce we know as a fact, for the Chinantec, far from eating them every day, regard them as something of a luxury! The cause of the scarcity of these staple crops lies merely in the nature of the country, and is as old as Time.

Despite the abundant rainfall, the crops are very meagre owing partly to the difficulty of making sufficiently large clearings in the forest, partly to the absence of level ground, and partly to the lack of adequate topsoil. The question of forest clearing has been dealt with already. As fast as the men cut it down, it aggressively re-asserts itself. There are not enough Chinantec to keep the forest from encroaching!—and this peculiar state of affairs has lasted at all events since the 16th century, as proved in the *Relacion de Chinantla*. The remaining difficulties may be explained as follows: the unfortunate Chinantec, having with infinite patience and labor felled the trees and cleared the undergrowth, plants his crop on the side of a hill, only to find the seed and topsoil washed away by the first torrential rain. To add to these already woeful misfortunes, the Chinantec has no oxen to help him plow, but uses instead a primitive type of hoe; he has no knowledge of modern agricultural methods and no tradition calling for the proper rotation of crops. In most parts of the Chinantla, there are, it is true, two crops a year,—the second being called *Tonamil*—but in most cases the yield from this second crop is so small that it is not worth the trouble and labor involved.

Happily, Chinantec diet does not depend upon corn and beans, although these, naturally, form his staple food and without the former he would starve. Excellent fish may be obtained in almost every stream. Vanilla and *tepejilote*, a species of grass which, with a little fancy, one may liken to asparagus, may be had for the picking at certain times of the year, while chile and red pepper are also available. Turkeys and chickens are found in every house, and pigs, not very distantly related to the wild jabali, are fairly general though seldom fat. Fruit is not so plentiful as one would expect. Pineapples and zapotes are scarce. Oranges are found near Tepinapa but are scarce elsewhere, and bananas may, of course, be obtained in the Valle Nacional and in many villages in the Western Chinantla, for here, every house has a solitary banana tree. Bees are very often kept by the villagers, and produce excellent honey as well as a little wax, and in one or two cases, there is actually a municipal beehive. Meat, other than chicken, turkey and pork—and perhaps an occasional armadillo, (very good when smoked), or *tepexquinte*,—is nonexistent, there being no grazing land for sheep, cows or goats. Likewise conspicuous by their absence are bread, milk, green vegetables and potatoes.

The isolation of the Chinantec in his forest; the lack of peonage;



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the difficulties of communication; the absence of beasts of burden, cows and sheep;—all these factors account for much in the economic and social welfare of the tribe, apart from those elements of interest chiefly to ethnologists—the preservation of old customs and of the language in its several dialects. The Chinantec have never become traders and have never developed the astute commercial enterprise which characterises the more progressive tribes in general and the Zapotec in particular. In all the Wah-mi area, we neither saw nor heard of any market-day—a most ordinary feature of Zapotec life and in whose region there is always a *dia de plaza* in some *pueblo* conveniently situated and to which villagers half a day's march away will resort at least once a week. This lack of inter-village commerce is not the least extraordinary feature of the Wah-mi Chinantec.

The small trade in essentials, such as pottery cooking utensils, clothing material, straw hats and petates or sleeping mats, is in the hands of itinerant vendors, always Zapotec, who appear at religious festivals, having carried their wares on their backs from Villa-Alta, Yalalag, Ixtlan or some other Zapotec center.

Curiously enough, there seems to be no pottery made actually in the Chinantla by either Wah-mi or the Hu-me. All of that commonly in use is typical of Oaxaca, Yalalag, Tamasaloapam or Mijitlan; the large black undecorated *jarros* manufactured throughout that region being especially popular for the cooking of beans and the carrying of water. Very large *ollas* from the same provenances are used for storage purposes, but the peculiar boot-shaped pot, the *patojo*, made by the Zapotec and in great favor with the Mije, is conspicuously absent.

Curiously enough, too, the Wah-mi import even their old fashioned cotton huipiles and *chapaneco* skirts, which, almost throughout the region, are still worn by the women to the total exclusion of modern European dress. We were reliably informed that the huipiles for these Chinantec are made largely at Jalahui and San Juan Taguía,—of course, by the Zapotec.

One genuinely Wah-mi industry deserves mention. It consists in cutting and dressing the Pita plant, a species of long-leafed spined aloe. No finished article is made from pita by the Chinantec, but the leaf, after a heavy outer skin is removed by rubbing—a very arduous process somewhat akin to the grinding of corn on a *metate*—produces a green fibre. This, on being washed in the streams and hung to dry in the sun, turns white, becomes strong, resilient and silky. It is then fashioned into short skeins and carried to Yalalag, where it is made into rope, hammocks, string bags and other articles by the Zapotec.

It appears that formerly, this cutting and dressing of pita formed quite an important industry in certain parts of the Chinantla, and that far away in Oaxaca, the pita-fibre of this region was greatly esteemed for its superior quality. However, the industry has now fallen on evil days and flourishes only at Tepinapa—and here, too, on a very reduced

## ECONOMIC FACTORS

scale, for in it not more than a dozen women are employed. It is interesting, nevertheless, as being perhaps the only ancient industry surviving in these parts.

In the past, there were other "forest industries"; notably the making of baskets. Petlapa and more especially Teotalcingo were at one time well-known for their fine strong baskets of **bejuco**, the vine from which are made the splendid hammock-bridges so characteristic of the Chinantec. The baskets were carried over the high mountain pass to Choapam, whence they were distributed by the Zapotec to all neighboring towns.

This industry, like that of dressing pita, is now on the wane, and appears to survive only to fulfill the needs of local communities. **Bejuco** baskets are still made at Teotalcingo, Toabela and Lacova. It is obviously a very ancient industry. The name Lacova is a Zapotec word meaning "place of baskets" or "of bejuco". Baskets are also made in many other places in the Chinantla, in fact it is a craft which every grown man seems to have mastered, but outside this little district they do not seem to be so strong and durable.

We have noted how Chinantec coffee is bought and re-sold by the Zapotec; how the itinerant vendors and the pottery cooking utensils they bring here are Zapotec; how pita is carried into Zapotec territory to be made into finished articles, and how even the **huipiles** worn by the **Wahmi** are woven by Zapotec in Zapotec towns. From all of this we may gather the extent—or the lack of—Chinantec enterprise. To this very defect we owe the qualities in their character; their honesty, their frankness and their kindliness. Even in their abject poverty they do not resort to petty thieving. They may beg for trifles but they never swindle or resort to trickery, or demand exorbitant fees for food and services. They are too simple minded! Their minds, in fact, are decidedly sluggish, an effect, perhaps, of the warm, damp climate in which they live. But because of these very qualities and defects has come not only the commercial supremacy of the Zapotec over the Chinantec but the actual intrusion of the Zapotec into Chinantec territory.

This infiltration from one tribe into another—the stronger into the weaker—is no new feature in Mexican tribal history. It has been going on for centuries in many parts of the country. From the earliest times, the Aztec would settle in the territory of neighboring tribes, would occupy the most lucrative positions and exert considerable influence in trade and politics. The Maya have been found all through Tabasco and even in the Zoque territory of Chiapas. Such intrusion has again been observed very recently among the Tlapanec of Guerrero, where, it seems, the richest men, the municipal secretaries, the priests and all persons of authority and education were found to be Mexicanos.

The Zapotec, as the largest and most progressive tribe in the State of Oaxaca, have in the same manner penetrated into lands far beyond their own natural boundaries. Into their hands has fallen the commerce



## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

and much of the wealth of the smaller tribes around them, notably the Chatinos, and the Mije, as well as our Chinantec.

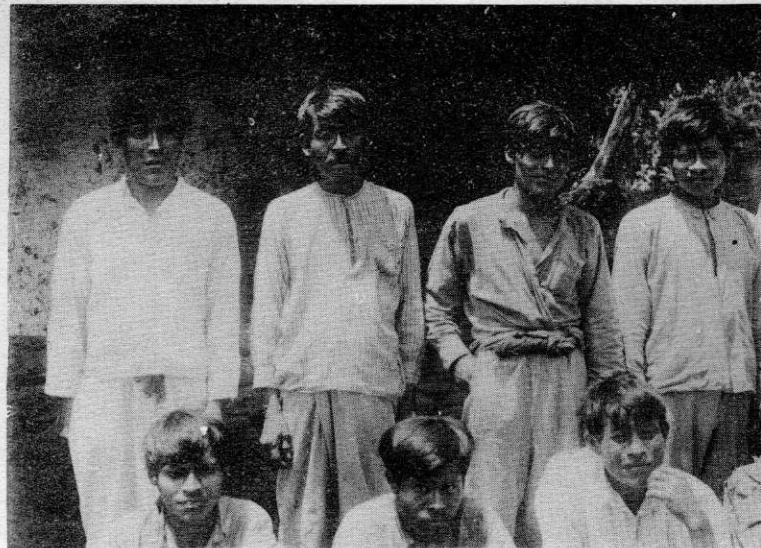
Where schools exist in the Chinantla, the schoolmaster is invariably Zapotec. Schools are an innovation and have not had time to affect the Chinantec "pattern" to any appreciable extent, but curiously enough, the municipal secretaries of the Chinantec are also in many cases Zapotec, more especially among the Wah-mi than among the other groups, —and this, it appears, is by no means a few fangled custom. Their superior education, their alertness of mind and knowledge of the world have been long appreciated.

Besides there "officials", there has been a steady influx of actual settlers; men who have acquired land in Chinantec villages and have gradually improved their condition. They have quickly learned the language; they have married Chinantec wives, and it is usual to find that when a Zapotec settles among these people he becomes eventually the richest man in the village.

In the Wah-mi area, it is at Lalana that this Zapotec penetration is most evident. Many Zapotec families from Villa-Alta have established themselves here, and the village wears a correspondingly "civilized" aspect, very different from the purely Chinantec pueblos nearby of Lacova, Lovani and Toabela. Whitewashed adobe houses and tiled roofs are in evidence. Spanish is widely spoken. There exist two small general stores. Ice-cream is sold at fiestas. Bread is fetched from Choapam. Costumes are changing, and among the women, the old huipil is no longer universal.

There is no reason to suppose that the penetration of the Zapotec and their commercial supremacy have not been features of the region for many generations. Just as upon the Mexican central plateau, most villages are known by their Aztec names, i. e. by the names given to them by the dominating race, so an astonishingly large number of Chinantec villages are known to us by their Zapotec names. We may perhaps infer that Zapotec penetration—and possibly domination—have been present here since the earliest times.

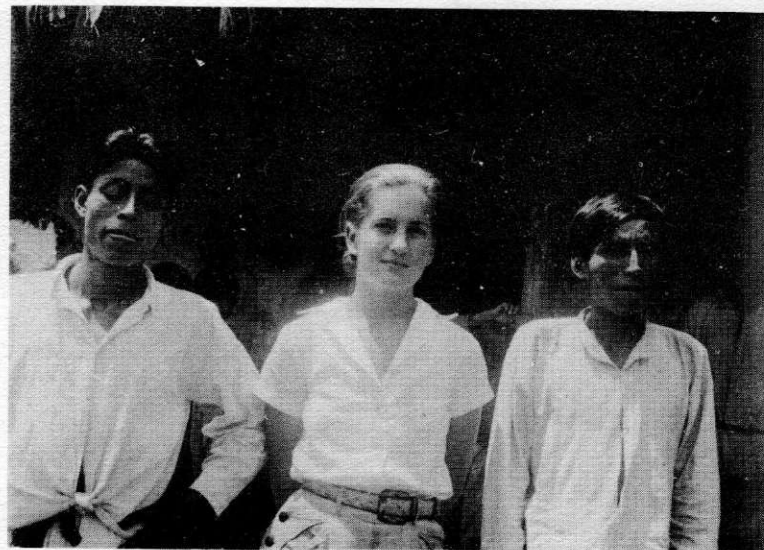
Whether there are more Zapotec in Chinantec territory now than fifty years ago would be difficult to say. Certain it is that while the Zapotec immigrants are progressing very rapidly, the Chinantec are retreating. Where, formerly, they may have been prosperous, where, formerly, they made their own pottery and clothes, and sustained certain "forest industries" including the manufacture of baskets and fibre, they are now desperately poor, almost ignorant of handicrafts, and slowly relapsing into that primitive and simple state from which they were formerly rescued—by the missionaries—in the sixteenth century.



25.—B. B.

**Group at Lacova**

The second from the left, standing, is the Municipal President, distinguished by his machine-made shirt.



26.—B. B.

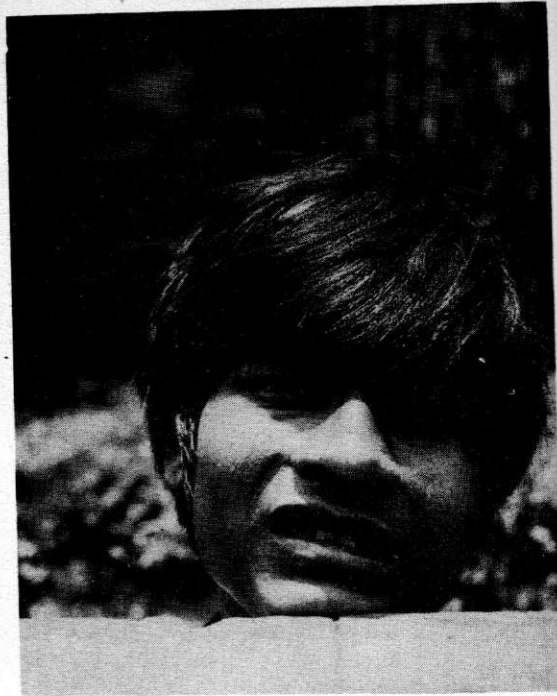
**Informants and "victim" at Lacova**



PLATE 14



27.—J. A. S.



28.—B. B.

Types at Lacova



29.—J. A. S.



30.—J. A. S.

Types at Lachixola and Lalana

## CHAPTER V

### THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND.

#### Part I. The Chinantec in the 16th Century.

The earliest historical mention of the Chinantec, namely that in Bernal Diaz, brings to us a picture strangely at variance with all later accounts and with the tribe as we now find it.

The Chinantec are shown to us as a vigorous nation, expert warriors and resolute enemies of the Mexicans to whom, according to Bernal Diaz, they were not subject. They were armed with bows and arrows,—and their lances, Diaz admits, were much better than those the Spaniards themselves possessed. (1) He describes these lances in some detail; — they evidently impressed him more than anything else belonging to the Chinantec—and Cortes was quick to make use of the Chinantec merely because of the excellence of their weapons. They were stout, very long and “double-pointed with two cutting edges of flint knives”, and so excited the admiration of the Spaniards that before the action with Narvaez at Zempoala, Cortes sent a soldier to the Chinantla to ask for 300 of these lances. He also ordered the Chinantec to “remove the knives, and as they possessed much copper, to make for each one two metal points”. “The soldier took with him the model which the points should resemble, and they promptly searched for the lances and made the points, for throughout the province at that time there were four or five towns, not counting many farms, [where] they collected them and fashioned the points far more perfectly than those we sent to order from them. (2) Later, he says, “they proved to be extremely good ... and the soldier trained us and taught us how to handle them”.

At the same time, Cortes sent for two thousand of their warriors, and although they arrived too late to fight in the engagement, we are told “they entered Zempoala in good array, two by two, and they carried their very long lances of great thickness, which have on them a fathom of stone knives which cut like [steel] knives, as I have already said, and each Indian carried a shield like a *pavesina*, and with their banners ex-

(1).—Bernal Díaz del Castillo. “The True History of the Conquest of New Spain translated by A. P. Maudsley. 1903-1916. (Hackluyt Society), Chapter CIII.

(2).—*ibid.* Chapter CXVIII.



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tended and many plumes of feathers and drums and trumpets, and between every two lancers an archer, and shouting and whistling and crying "Long Live the King, long live the King our Lord and Hernando Cortes in his Royal Name" they made their entrance so gallantly that it was an affair worthy of note. They were 1500 in number and, from the manner and good order with which they came in, it looked as though there were three thousand of them". (3)

This is indeed a lively description and a very pleasing portrait of the Chinantec, and but for certain "negative evidence", it would be difficult to explain the radical difference between the Chinantec as found by Bernal Diaz, —the brave show and waving plumes of Zempoala—and the tribe as seen by the early missionaries less than half a century later. They were then pictured as a miserable band of savages, hiding themselves away in caves, scarcely capable of reason or of being rated as human beings—afraid of the world and of the Spaniard in particular—and this although they had never faced the Spaniard in battle and had lived beside the Mije who were among the last to surrender.

The Spaniards made their first expedition to this region in search of gold. They discovered its existence from conversation with Moctezuma and from his tribute rolls, and Cortes sent a small party to pan the rivers in the neighborhood of Tuxtepec. The people were very friendly, (save to the Mexicans whom they would not permit to cross their boundaries), and aided the Spaniards in the recovery of large quantities of gold from the rivers of Tuxtepec and Malinaltepec. The Spaniards were so charmed with the country that certain of the party would have settled there at once to cultivate corn, pea-nuts cotton and cocoa had they not been peremptorily ordered back by Cortes to participate in the Conquest.

The importance of this incident is not the finding of gold, a friendly tribe or a land of promise, but the mere fact that no mention whatever is made of treasure. Either immediately or later on, the Spaniards made no expedition here for plunder. With the character of Cortes and Alvarado, and the general attitude of the *Conquistadores* well-known to us, there is only one possible inference, namely that there was nothing here to plunder!

Two of the Chinantec *caciques* returned to Mexico with the first gold-seekers and had time to talk with and receive a friendly reception from Cortes, so it cannot have been from ignorance of the existence of "princes" or "cities paved with gold" that Cortes made no marauding expedition. We may, therefore, definitely infer that by 1520 there were no Chinantec "kings", —such as the Mixtec sovereigns of Tututepec whom Alvarado so pitilessly despoiled and murdered. The civilization of the Chinantec was already at a low ebb.

We are fortunate in possessing further evidence concerning the Chinantec immediately prior to the Spanish Conquest. This evidence is

(3).—*ibid.* Chapter CXXIII.

## THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND

contained in the **Relaciones** or Reports made by certain **Corregidores** in the Chinantec and neighboring regions in answer to a lengthy Questionnaire sent by order of Charles V, apparently in 1579. (4) From these we learn that, contrary to the statements of Bernal Diaz, the Chinantec were subject to Moctezuma, and any further doubt as to whether the Chinantec had been conquered by the Mexicans may be dispelled by knowledge of the astonishingly heavy tribute exacted.

On page 46 of the *Codice Mendozino* (5) is given a detailed list of the tributes paid to Moctezuma by 22 towns, for the most part now lying within the State of Oaxaca. A great many of them are now unrecognizable under the disguise of their old or mis-spelled names while some, such as Tototepec (Tututepec) and Puctlan (Putla) clearly belong to the Mixteca, but at least three of the towns mentioned, Tochtepec, (Tuxtepec), Oxitlan, (Ojitlan) and Chinantlan, (Chinantla), belonged to, or took tribute from, the Chinantec.

We do not know from the *Codice Mendozino* what was exacted from each town but it would seem likely that a portion of the following tribute came from the Chinantla: 1,600 loads of mantas ricas' 800 loads of mantas striped with red, white and green, 400 loads of skirts and huipiles, each item of which was demanded once every six months. Also from the Chinantla probably came some of the 20 bezotes of clear amber, decorated with gold, 80 handfuls of green feathers from the quetzal a quantity of specially prized yellow feathers, 8,000 handfuls each of turquoise, green and red feathers, 100 jars of liquidambar (balsam), 200 loads of cocoa and 1,600 rubber balls, "from the gum of trees", for which it was specially stipulated that they "bounce high in the air".

We know that all these things were to be found in the Chinantla. Quetzal feathers, huacamaya feathers, hummingbird feathers, gold, liquidambar and rubber balls are specifically mentioned as products of the region, in the various **Relaciones** of the district. As to the tribute of mantas ricas, we know that the region was very rich in cotton, and several of the **Relaciones** of towns in the neighborhood state that the natives of Cuicatlan, Malinaltepec, Atlatlauca, etc., bought their cotton either at Usila or "on the Rio de Alvarado".

In a few cases, the **Relaciones** provide information concerning the tribute paid by individual townships. The **Relacion de Uçila** states that Usila was subject to Moctezuma and contributed each year a round, gilded shield called "chimali", and two necklaces of very fine gold beads—, one

(4).—Instruction y memoria de las relaciones que se han de hazer, para la descripción de las Yndias, que su Magestad manda hazer, para el buen gobierno y ennoblescimiento dellas". The manuscript answers to these questions are preserved in the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, and were published by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso in *Papeles de Nueva España: segunda serie, Geografía y Estadística*; Vol. IV; Madrid, 1905. Translations of the "Relacion de Chinantla" and "Relacion de Uçila" are given in Chapter X. of this volume... page 129.



#### THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND.

for Moctezuma; the other for his wife. In addition to this direct tribute to Moctezuma, Usila paid to Moctezuma's governor at Tuxtepec, a tribute consisting of gold, cocoa, cotton, corn, red peppers, kidney-beans, cotton cloth, straw mats and various fruits. To a local and native *cacique* they paid yet another tribute. In the Valle Nacional, the same system obtained. The unfortunate Chinantec were obliged to pay tribute to their local *cacique*, the lord of Chinantla and to the Mexican Governor at Tuxtepec. To the lord of Chinantla they gave cocoa, corn, fish, chickens, frijoles, gourds and other foods, in addition to their personal services in the form of labor in his fields and peanut plantations.

All the tribute for the Mexican Governor was collected at Tuxtepec, where Moctezuma maintained a large garrison.

Whether or not, by the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, Moctezuma had ceased to exert authority over the Chinantec or whether the Chinantec had recently rebelled, we cannot say. Bernal Diaz implies this when he says the Chinantec would not allow the Mexicans to cross their boundaries, yet from the later *Relaciones* it appears that Moctezuma's authority was not questioned, and apart from the heavy tribute exacted, does not seem to have been detrimental to the Chinantec. Minor judges or magistrates were sent round the country to judge petty offences, but serious crimes for which capital punishment was exacted, were judged only by Mexican officials at Tuxtepec. The efficiency and good intentions of these judges may be gauged from the knowledge that in order to prevent the Chinantec from killing themselves after attacks of a somewhat mysterious "pain in the ribs" they were forbidden by the judges to bathe in the rivers. Formerly they had died in great numbers as a result of this "cure". Now, they were ordered to take hot baths. From the Mexicans also they learned another remedy... the inhalation of a certain smoke which cured coughs and catarrh. Remarkable as it may seem, the Chinantec possessed no medicines of their own, and it is specifically stated that when a man fell ill, his fellows would leave him to die, refusing either to look at or speak with a sick man. (6)

From the *Relacion de Uçila*, we learn that in addition to tribute, the Chinantec were obliged twice a year to make special prayers to their gods on behalf of Moctezuma, and to observe certain ceremonies—, which fact alone proves the influence of Moctezuma and his governor in this region. For 140 days or seven months of their eighteen month year, they were not allowed to approach their womenfolk, and were obliged to fast. According to the *Relacion de Chinantla*, the fast lasted 100 days; only one *tortilla* being allowed each day, while red peppers and anything given as a present was especially prohibited. To relieve their hunger, the Chinantec chewed rubber, and certain of them who did further penance wore as clothes the leaves of an irritating plant.

(6).—This curious treatment of sick persons, presumably through fear of infectious or contagious diseases, is said to be still practised by the Lacandonos or Chiapas.

## THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND.

At the end of the period of fasting, the people assembled with the Mexican Governor who apparently supervised if he did not conduct the sacrifice, and who chose the spot. At Usila, a child, a hen, a dog and a cat were the victims. The blood was thrown over the idols and the bodies left to be devoured by crows and zopilotes.

The *Relacion de Chinantla* also gives us interesting details regarding the sacrifices and religious practices. The Chinantec had temples or "Cues", like towers, the platform of which was reached by a hundred steps on every side. Sacrifice on top of these Cues took place at each of four feasts in the year, the victims being twenty or more prisoners of war, or Indians purchased from other parts,—and certain other *Relaciones* state that villages actually went to war solely in order to obtain victims for sacrifice. In some villages human sacrifice was not practised,—only that of parrots and other birds. At Usila, at a great feast, they bought 3 or 4 slaves from other provinces, killed and ate them.

As to their gods, we have very little information. It is stated their idols were of stone and clay; that their principal god was the "God of Life" and that another was "God of Events".

More enlightening information is given concerning their mode of livelihood and certain of their customs. At Usila, cocoa-bushes were the chief product of the region and the Chinantec traded cocoa and cotton with the Spaniards, the former being also accepted throughout the region as a medium of exchange. They also bartered their crops for wax and Spanish clothes. Those from the cool region made pottery and others made fibre from pita just as they do to this day. From the huanacaxtle trees they made trays for washing gold. The people of Usila were accustomed to buy salt from Teotitlan, 22 leagues away; those of Chinantla from Cozcatlan, 35 leagues distant. Honey was quite an item in their trade and the Chinantec, then as now, appear to have been adept bee-keepers.

Their houses were made of wood and thatched with straw, it being noted that houses of stone or adobe were seldom built because when a house-owner died, his children fled and built themselves a new house. The women wore *huipiles* and skirts and plaited their hair on the head, evidently as in modern times, while to make their hair more luxuriant, blacker and shiny they greased it with oil of mammee,—another custom which has survived—while the inside of the sapodilla was used as tooth-paste, a custom which, we are told, found favour "even with Spanish ladies".

Of their local government, we know practically nothing. The *Relacion de Atlatlauca*, dated 1580, mentions *tequios* and calls them by this name, and moreover, implies that they existed before the coming of the Spaniards.

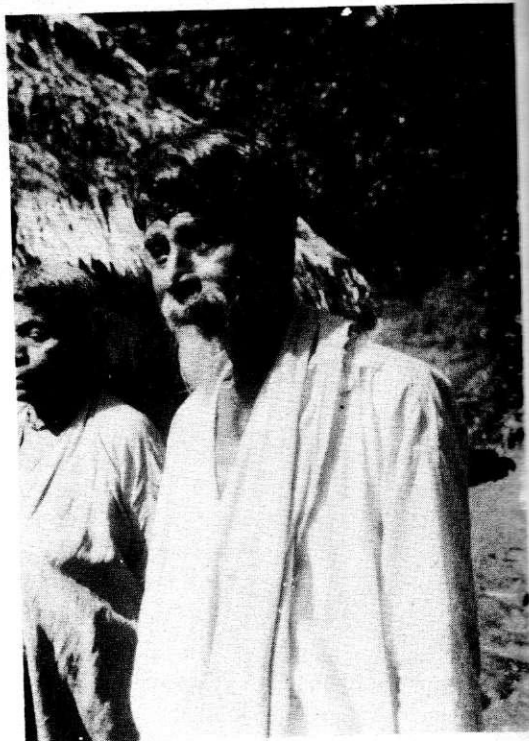
It is evident from these *Relaciones* that village wars were very frequent in the time of Moctezuma and immediately before. There were wars between Usila and Tlacoatzintepec; Usila and Tepetotutla; and between Malinaltepec and Yolox. In these wars, the Chinantec painted their faces and legs in different colours, to frighten their enemies, and in se-





34.—R. J. W.

At El Arenal



35.—B. B.

An Informant at Lalana

Left: Mother and child. Right: "Chico" Gabriel, whose knowledge of the Chinantec Calendar provided us with valuable clues regarding the meaning of the "month" names.



36.—R. J. W.

Small mound at Paso de Limón

## CHAPTER V

### THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND.

#### Part II.

#### The Conversion of the Chinantec to Christianity.

We are especially fortunate in possessing for this period of Chinantec history the very complete, conscientious and trustworthy works of Francisco de Burgoa, a Dominican of the great monastery of Oaxaca and, during his last years, priest at Zaachila. <sup>(1)</sup>

In the course of his duties, Burgoa himself traveled through much of the country he describes and of which, consequently, his knowledge was intimate. He lived so little after the earliest attempts to convert the Indians of this region that he was able to comprehend exactly the difficulties and dangers involved. In his own time, moreover, the Spanish friars were still finding it extremely difficult to hold the tribes to Christianity, long after the majority had been baptised. His account of the conversion of the Zapotec, Mixtec, Mije and Chinantec remains unrivalled.

Burgoa's description of the Chinantec—of the first meetings of the friars with this backward tribe, (of which they were somewhat frightened), and of their remarkable friendliness once their confidence had been gained are so true and typical of these Indians as they survive at the present day that it does not seem out of place to quote this author in detail. Burgoa's works have never been translated into English and only

(1).—Fr. Francisco de Burgoa, (1605-1681) was Procurador of the Province of Oaxaca and twice elected Provincial of his Order. In addition to the books noted below and various doctrinal works, he wrote an account, now lost, of his journey to Rome in 1556.

His "Palestra Historial de la Provincia de Predicadores de Guaxaca" etc. (abbreviated title) was published in Mexico in 1670 and reprinted by the Secretaría de Gobernación, (Publicaciones del Archivo de la Nación XXIV) México, D. F. 1934. The two later volumes were issued under the title (abbreviated) "Geográfica Descripción de la parte septentrional del Polo Artico de la América", etc., published in Mexico in 1674. In the present chapter these will be referred to respectively as "Palestra Historial" and "Geográfica Descripción".

In Chapter XXIV, Vol 1, of "Estudios históricos y estadísticos del Estado de Oaxaca" (2 vols., Oaxaca, 1850) J. C. Carriedo gives a brief resume of Burgoa's notes on the conversion of the Chinantec. More of Burgoa's information will also be found in "Historia de Oaxaca", by Pr. José Antonio Gay, (2 vols, México, 1881). The succeeding extracts have all been translated from the original works of Burgoa.



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a portion is available in modern Spanish. His is a romantic and moving story, told almost "racily", and though we must necessarily deplore the iconoclastic zeal of certain priests in their efforts to rid the Chinantec of paganism, we can but admire their faith, their perseverance and their sincerity. Evidence of harsh treatment can be read "between the lines" but this does not detract from the honesty of purpose shown by these early Dominicans.

The conversion of the Chinantec to Christianity was effected from Villa-Alta which then, as now, lay within Zapotec territory.

Villa-Alta had been founded by order of Cortes himself in 1527 as a small Spanish garrison, it being necessary to leave troops permanently stationed there to ward off attacks from the particularly warlike and unyielding Mije who lived in the mountains to the South-East.

The two members of the secular priesthood living here made some attempt to convert the Zapotec of the immediate neighborhood and occasionally visited the more distant Chinantec, but it was not till considerably after the foundation of a Dominican monastery at Villa-Alta in 1548 <sup>(2)</sup> that the conversion of the Chinantec was undertaken in earnest.

The foundation of this monastery is probably in part due to the energies of Fr. Gonzalo Lucero, one of the first eight Dominicans to reach Mexico, one of the founders of the great house at Oaxaca in 1529, and primarily responsible for the conversion of the Mixtec amongst whom, at Tlaxiaco, he lies buried.

While at Oaxaca between 1529 and 1535, he visited Villa-Alta and we know something of his work in this district. Although we are not told precisely which villages he attempted to convert, Burgoa describes the region as embracing "the scattered nation of the part we now call Villa-Alta, including the Serranos, Zapotecos, Mijes, Chinantecos and Guatinicamanes". <sup>(3)</sup> From another passage, <sup>(4)</sup> we learn that he was still here some years later, so his visit cannot have been transitory and there is good reason to suppose he ventured as far afield as the Chinantla.

To these tribes, Fr. Gonzalo Lucero spoke Aztec or Mexicano "which he already knew very well and which was generally understood throughout the kingdom by the principal men and chieftains who used it to communicate with those of the monarchy of Moctezuma". <sup>(5)</sup> This was apparently of little use, for we find also that he was obliged "to speak to the eyes rather than to the ears". "He would show them pictures of the principal mysteries of our Redemption and from the sight of these he would pass to the hearing of the Faith and thence to the understanding of true Religion, so that they might see in clear light the darkness of the innumerable errors in which they blindly lived". <sup>(6)</sup>

(2).—Burgoa: *Geográfica Descripción*, Chapter LIV. Page 264

(3).—ibid: *Geográfica Descripción*, Chapter LIV. Page 263.

(4).—ibid: *Geográfica Descripción*, Chapter LIV. Page 265.

(5).—ibid: *Palestra Historial*. Page 34.

(6).—ibid: *Geográfica Descripción*, Chapter LIV. Page 263.

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Gay would make it appear from this phrase that Gonzalo Lucero himself painted or drew pictures for the enlightenment of the Chinantec, but this may be doubted. Remesal (7) tells us that it was the practice of early missionaries to carry with them small portable altars and pictures on canvas (which they could roll up) of the Trinity, the saints and of Hell.

Despite Fr. Gonzalo's valiant attempt to convert these Indians, we know that for many years very little was done to improve the conditions of the Chinantec... according to Spanish standards. Burgoa gives us a graphic description of the trials and failure of the two parish priests who worked around Villa-alta for twenty-two years before the arrival of the Dominicans. He says: "They had always complained of the great discomfort in which they were living, due to the unsettled state of the region, (9) their remote contact with civilization, the difficulties of the language... and the fact that the people lived scattered in caves or lonely huts and were scarcely capable of reason. When fear compelled them to come to see their priest a few men, able to lisp a little Mexicano through their teeth and very badly pronounced, would bring him food and leave forthwith—in-capable of understanding his teaching, their heads bowed—and were not seen again". (10).

It was because of this unfortunate state of affairs that the Viceroy and Audiencia gave permission to the Dominicans to administer this province. In 1548 five Dominicans established themselves at Villa-Alta. A school was immediately founded while one of the friars "specialized" in Zapotec and another in Mije, which he is said to have mastered in six months.

Chiefly owing to the extreme difficulty of communication with the Chinantec, not only because of their language but also because they lived scattered in rancherias, the obstructions to their conversion and civilization appeared almost insurmountable. The friars regarded "the inhabitants of this wilderness as ignorant of reason and brutish in their customs and speech". "One could distinguish not even a syllable which one could catch or from which to extract a meaning, for their speech is between the teeth, violent and with rudely accentuated consonants, while the vowels are confused, with no distinction between them, so that they sounded more like the cries of animals. (11) than terms of speech, all of which discouraged them greatly." (12).

- (7). - Fr. Antonio de Remesal: *Historia de la Provincia de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Santo Domingo*; Madrid. 1619.
- (8). - Above all it was the picture of St. James vanquishing the Moors that most deeply impressed the Indians for they presumed St. James to be an all-conquering god of war.
- (9). - The neighborhood of Villa-Alta was subject to continual raids by the Mije and it appears that at least once, in 1570, the garrison of Villa-Alta was evacuated by the Spaniards.
- (10). - Burgoa: *Geográfica Descripción*. Chapter LVIII. Page 285.
- (11). - "bramidos"
- (12). - Burgoa: *Geográfica Descripción*. Chapter LIX.



## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

In another passage <sup>(13)</sup> we read of the Chinantec as "more remote from the care of the ministers and still more secured in the iniquity of their customs by the barriers formed by the language which resist the Doctrine and teaching because of the difficulties of pronunciation and tones so ambiguous <sup>(14)</sup> that the same word spoken more softly or faster has a different meaning".

Yet that some definite advance was made is indicated by Burgoa's assertion that one priest, Fr. Pedro Guerrero, erected one hundred and sixty churches, <sup>(15)</sup> while we are told also that "all the Chinantec villages knew of the disturbances at Petlalzingo <sup>(16)</sup> and how the people there had miraculously repented". "The kindness and meekness with which he, [Fr. Pedro] had received them, giving them light penances, consoled them greatly". <sup>(17)</sup> They had discovered for him many shrines and idols which they took out of the churches where they had formerly lain buried.

Owing to the rivalry between the Preaching Orders and the secular clergy one may perhaps accuse Burgoa of bias when he belittles the work of the early parish priests. As a matter of fact we know from the *Relaciones* of Usila and Chinantla that in these parts—far more remote than Villa-Alta—a priest was already living at Usila in 1579 and that there were two priests in the neighborhood of the town of Chinantla. Diego de Esquivel tells us in addition the whereabouts of 25 churches already built at this time.

It appears to have been about 1581 that the Chinantec received their greatest apostle. This Dominican, Fr. Francisco de Saravia was to devote nearly 50 years to their conversion and enlightenment, and in describing his work, Burgoa gives us a wealth of picturesque detail of considerable interest. Fr. Francisco seems to have been the first to teach the Chinantec to write in their own language, and many of the religious customs which he initiated are still practised by them at the present day.

From sources other than Burgoa <sup>(18)</sup> we learn that Fr. Francisco de Saravia was born at Seville, came to Mexico as a joiner <sup>(19)</sup> and, after the death of his wife, became a Dominican in 1574. According to Beristain, he died August 10th, 1630. Burgoa says that by 1585 Fr. Francisco had worked among the Chinantec for four years, and that he died in 1622.

At first, Fr. Francisco de Saravia would sally forth each month "into these wild mountains, trying to learn the Chinantec tongue and bringing to the people affection and sympathy sufficient to dispel the fear and dread with which they had come to regard the Spaniards as their mortal enemies. The first time this good priest entered the region

(13).—Burgoa: "Geográfica Descripción". Chapter LVIII. Page 284.

(14).—"voces tan equívocas".

(15).—Burgoa: "Geografica Descripción", Chapter LVII. Page 279.

(16).—Possibly Petlapa or Teotalcingo?

(17).—Burgoa: "Geografica Descripción". Chapter LVII. Page 279.

(18).—Beristain. *Bibliot. Hisp. Amer. Sept.* Vol. III. Page 123.

(19).—"ebanista".

he traveled everywhere on foot, with no trails, through the thickest woods he had ever seen, encountering peaks and swamps, rushing torrents, wild animals, venomous snakes of many species and noxious insects. For reward, he would find a settlement <sup>(20)</sup> of Indians and would gain their confidence with signs of endearment, and through an Indian interpreter, <sup>(21)</sup> his guide, whom he made fiscal or guardian of the district... <sup>(22)</sup> he would preach to men and women naked but for little aprons made from the bark of trees and, sitting with them beside the fire, placing herbs or dry sticks upon it because of the humidity, he would talk to them in Mexicano which he knew very well, or through his interpreter, exhorting them to form a village, to learn the teachings of Christianity, and to be baptised"...

"Many of those already baptised by the secular priests would, because they did not properly understand them, bring with them certain idolaters merely to satisfy the authorities who rigorously demanded this, but they would neglect to bring the remainder who obstinately concealed themselves and continued in their errors".

"By means of the Indian fiscal who accompanied him, Fr. Francisco taught them the principle Mysteries of our Holy Faith, preparing them for the time when they should be capable of receiving baptism. To achieve this he sought to avail himself of the fiscal to learn the language but, Satan fearing the influence of so fervent a priest, the fiscal came to an agreement with the Indians not to teach him their tongue, and thus he [Fr. Francisco] learned the falseness of the Indian fiscal. <sup>(23)</sup>

Fortunately, shortly afterwards, Fr. Francisco found a more reliable friend, a young boy, the son of a local cacique, who had attended the Dominican school at Villa-Alta and could speak a little Spanish. This boy Fr. Francisco "carefully trained, and in a very short while he was able to write and to perfect himself in Castilian. Then, with great firmness, he [Fr. Francisco] forced the boy to write words in his own language and, without stopping, he studied day and night and discussed with him [the boy] the significance of the tones <sup>(24)</sup> in which there had been many errors. And as if he were a child, the servant of God received lessons from the boy, so that he should not err in the pronunciation, and with such rapidity did he master that barbaric tongue that in a few months, with this diligence, he made a copious and lengthy confessional and preached many doctrinal sermons to the Indians". <sup>(25)</sup>

Numerous persons were then baptised and "within four years, many had gathered together in villages, with police, <sup>(26)</sup> He obliged both men

(20).—"ranchería".

(21).—"ladino".

(22).—Burgoa uses the term "alguazil de la doctrina". The word "fiscal" as employed here by Burgoa denotes a person charged with seeing that the other Indians fulfill their religious duties.

(23).—Burgoa: "Geografica Descripcion". Chapter LVIII. Page 285.

(24).—"vozes".

(25).—Burgoa: "Geografica Descripcion", Chapter LIX, Page 287.

(26).—"Policia".



## REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

and women to clothe themselves like Mexicans; he taught them the Catechism and the whole Doctrine: he placed schools in the larger villages and he made them construct suitable churches, for hitherto they possessed only small chapels thatched with straw and with porches at the entrance providing shelter from the inclemencies of the weather <sup>(27)</sup> With the fatigue of these cares he came to be so beloved by the Indians that when a Provincial Chapter was called and Fr. Francisco was nominated to the House of Totontepec among the Mije in order to give him some reward for his excellent work, the Chinantec could not tolerate his absence". <sup>(28)</sup>

"Conspiring among themselves, they resolved to send the most able of their number, with interpreters, to Mexico, to beseech the Provincial to send back to them their beloved father and master: with tears and cries the women and children were searching for him, for he had won the hearts, of all, and there was no remedy for this sorrow other than to see him, to speak to him and to hear his teaching. With this resolve they set out in 1585. <sup>(29)</sup>

It is unfortunate that no further data is available concerning this remarkable expedition. At the present day it appears almost incredible that a Chinantec delegation should visit the capital. However we do know that very long journeys were undertaken in the early days. <sup>(30)</sup> Usila was said to be 60 leagues from Mexico and Chinantla 80 leagues, while the latter town was said to be 30 leagues from Antequera, (Oaxaca). Granting that a league was more a measure of time than of distance, (as proved by the fact the various Relaciones always state whether the leagues are "long" or "short") the old estimates of distance show that travel was quite as speedy in the past as at the present day. Valle-Nacional (near the site of Chinantla) would be regarded now as well over 30 leagues from Oaxaca. The distance from Tepinapa to Villa-Alta is regarded as 20 leagues, and this journey is accomplished in one day only. It is probable therefore that the old Chinantec would have reached Mexico in less than a week.

In this case, the mission was entirely successful: the Provincial granted their request and Fr. Francisco "returned overjoyed <sup>(31)</sup> to continue his work among the Chinantec". "They received him back with a great feast and much rejoicing according to their manner, with music and strange dances". <sup>(32)</sup>

"He liked them so well that he made them interpreters, <sup>(33)</sup> writers,

(27).—Projecting porches of great depth are still very characteristic of the Chinantec churches.

(28).—Burgoa: "Geografica Descripcion". Chapter LIX. Page 287.

(29).—ibid: "Geografica Descripcion". Chapter LIX. Page 288.

(30).—There is said to exist in a small village near Villa-Alta the narrative, written in Zapotec, of a journey made by the elders to Mexico, the sole purpose of which was to beg for a patron saint.

(31).—"gustosísimo".

(32).—"Bayles extraordinarios

(33).—"ladinos".

## THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND.

(<sup>34</sup>) well informed and men of importance; and in our times, the priests have known many of these *caciques* whom the servant of God created, —dressed in silk, like Spaniards, and with swords, beautiful mules with fine trapping and saddles—, courteous and intelligent, especially in that which our Lord has given to them as also to those of Vizcaya: the gift of writing”.

“While I was an unworthy priest in this province, I saved several letters from these *caciques*, of such beautiful writing and lively style that I dedicated myself to this pleasure: [i. e. their collection]. Greater was that of the servant of God who used the high ability of these, his sons, to make them translate into their own language the Catechism and Homilies which he composed for use on Sundays and the principal festivals of the year. In these, above the Gospel text, he expounded the moral lessons most proper, or the life of the saint, with the Mysteries of the Faith most applicable to that day. Each village possessed one of these books, and when the priest of that village was absent, two or three specially chosen Indians would place the book upon a lectern, would gather together all the people from the village on the festival date, and at the hour of Mass, would read in a high voice these homilies, with long pauses and diligence very worthy of imitation”. (<sup>35</sup>)

Despite such remarkable progress, the reform of the Chinantec was by no means complete, and incidentally the zeal of Fr. Francisco in prosecuting idolatry led to a serious personal accident. Burgoa continues: “He rid them of great witch-doctors and sorcerers (<sup>37</sup>) through whom the Devil had kept them very blind and who abounded in this country; and while searching in their dens (<sup>38</sup>) he suffered a heavy fall in which he broke a leg”.

For the remainder of his life he was carried from place to place by the natives in a litter hung from two poles. Nevertheless his courage was undaunted in spite of disablement, and as a result of this first misfortune, there befell him another accident of which I translate Burgoa's account in full since it describes so accurately a bridge precisely similar to those already mentioned in the first chapter. Further, the disaster is one that might occur in any part of the Chinantla at the present day.

“It happened in the crossing of a swollen stream that came down from the mountains, where the water was very deep and there was no ford. Now they have in this country bridges of vines (<sup>39</sup>) which are certain plants that grow like very long ropes, and twisted some with others, sufficient of them are fastened together to allow one to walk over them. And on each side, higher up, are others like railings, to which one may hold, and stretched across from trees on either bank, these serve as bridges.

(34).—“*escribanos*”. See below.

(36).—Burgoa: “*Geografica Descripcion*”. Chapter LIX. Page 290. Similar works are still read in a precisely similar way by the Chinantec at the present day.

(37).—“*grandes agoreros y sortilegos*”.

(38).—“*madrigueras*”.

(39).—“*vejucos*”.



One climbs into them very carefully because of the movement which they make, and the danger is obvious, but this is customary with these rivers, and without such aid it would be impossible to cross them".

"On this occasion, experienced in the task, the Indians carried the servant of God in his litter, but there came to his aid more people than the hammock <sup>(40)</sup> or bridge could support. When they reached the middle of the stream, the vines broke, and all the men fell into the river, unable to help themselves because, owing to the blow they had received in their fall, they sank, and it would have been a divine blessing had they been able to save themselves by swimming. The litter and poles, with the servant of God all bound up in the matting, flowed so rapidly down the stream among the waves that the Indians with cries and wailing mourned him as already drowned. But a few who had remained on the banks, there being no place in which to attempt his rescue, followed him down beside the stream and discovered in a pool made by the river what looked like an island, and there the current had drawn him. They all threw themselves into the water, and found him sound and safe—, praying". <sup>(41)</sup>

According to Burgoa, Francisco de Saravia died at Villa-Alta in 1622. <sup>(42)</sup> According to Beristain, he lived another eight years. Meanwhile Totontepec, in Mije territory, having received a Dominican monastery in 1585, Choapam, (at first administered from Totontepec), had become a separate "doctrina" in 1603, and was evidently a place of some importance, for Burgoa <sup>(43)</sup> says: "Its chief town, Chuapa and another village called Laatani <sup>(44)</sup> each possess nearly five hundred families". In 1625, Fr. Ioan Enrique was sent as priest to Choapam and we are told "he learned with great ability the Serrano language in which he preached continually on all the solemn days of the year: he likewise forced himself to the study of the Chinantec tongue for that [country] is next to this doctrina, and in it are two little villages <sup>(45)</sup> of that nation. And because they were lacking in spiritual food and teaching, he learned the language with great perfection". <sup>(46)</sup>

Burgoa concludes the chapter with an interesting account of the finding of gold in this region. He also mentions that there is much vanilla and that the people are clever weavers. This information refers to the Zapotec and not to the Chinantec, but it is worthy of note that a type of *huipil*, peculiar to the region, and in which no colors are employed... the design being worked out in the plain white cotton... is still woven at Choapam by the Zapotec and highly prized in this region.

(40).—"amaca", the name still employed for this type of bridge.

(41).—Burgoa: "Geografica Descripcion", Chapter LIX. Page 290.

(42).—ibid: "Geografica Descripcion". Chapter LIX. Page 291.

(43).—ibid: "Geografica Descripcion", Chapter LXIII. Page 308.

(44).—Now called Latani and said to contain a population half Zapotec and half Chinantec.

(45).—Probably Latani and Teotalcingo, for these are close to Choapam.

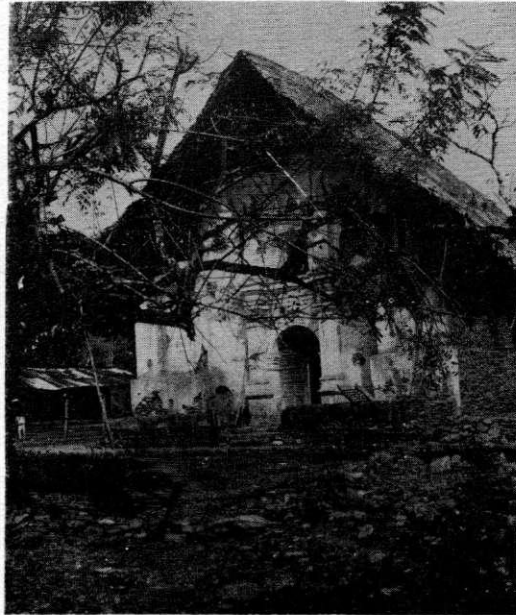
(46).—Burgoa. "Geografica Descripcion", Chapter LXIII. Page 308.



37.—B. B.

The church of Petlapa

In the foreground stands a typical thatched belfry.

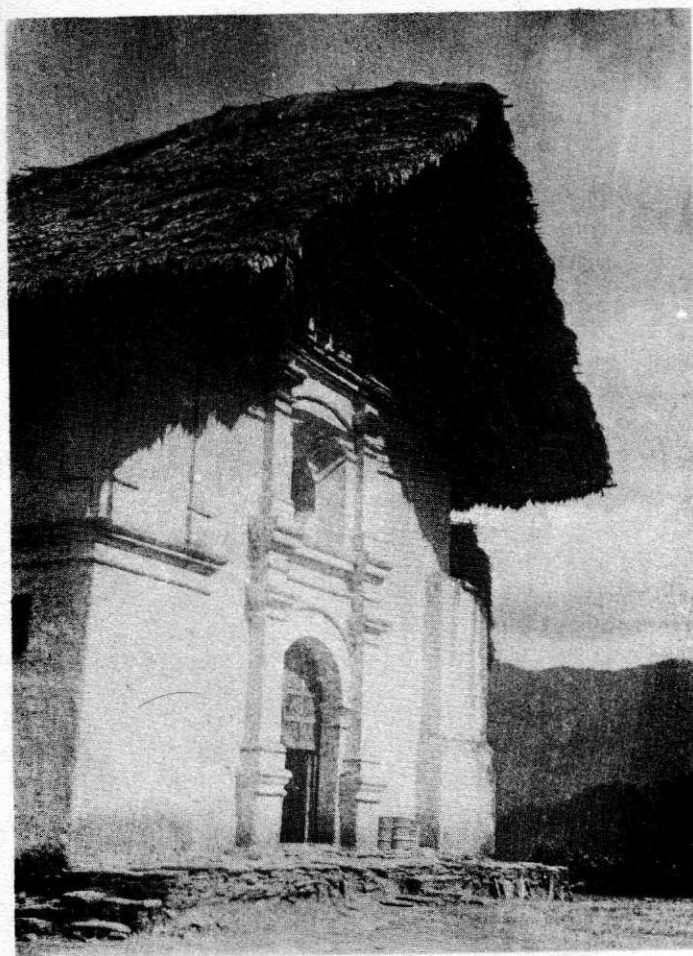


38.—B. B.

The Church at Tepinapa

Most of the churches in the southeastern Chinantec area have been seriously damaged by earthquakes. It is usual for only the facade and portals to receive a coating of whitewash. The remainder is left to show naked brown adobe.





39. B. B.

**Facade of the Church at Lalana**

Nearly all the churches in this area were built by the Dominicans from Villa-Alta who were primarily responsible for the conversion of the Chinantec. Note the deeply-projecting roof of heavy thatch, forming a kind of porch, a very necessary and characteristic feature in this district.

#### THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND.

It is unnecessary for us to follow in detail the progress of Christianity among the Chinantec after their conversion and the gradual eclipse of the Dominicans. The story of the Church in this part of Oaxaca is that of all Mexico, and well-known. We know of the extreme wealth accumulated by the monasteries; of the jealousies and rivalries beginning in the 17th century between the Preaching Orders and the Secular clergy. In 1647, the Dominicans were made subject to the secular bishops, and just over one hundred years later, namely in 1749, they were ordered by Royal Command to give up their parish churches to the Curas. The change did not come abruptly for again in 1753 we find another Royal Decree stating the change must be brought about immediately despite the harm caused to the Indians by reason of the priests being unable to speak their language. It is difficult to say when the change was finally accomplished among the Chinantec who were always accounted remote. It is to be noted, that in the National Library, Madrid, is preserved a document of 1777 (47) containing topographical descriptions of many villages in Oaxaca, made by the resident priests, but in which no Chinantec village is represented. This does not prove the absence of priests in the region: in fact, apart from the evidence of Burgoa and the *Relaciones*, which deal with a different part of the Chinantla, we know that there were secular priests among the Western Chinantec at all events before the year 1700. In the preface of his "*Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Chinanteca*", published in 1730, Br. Nicolas de la Barreda, priest at San Pedro Yolox, states that he had been at work on the language and on his book, —and hence among the Chinantec—for twenty years. He speaks, moreover, of other parish priests who had been here before him, and who had failed to master the language, preferring to give up the task and start afresh in other regions. In this connection too, he adds a very remarkable point. He says that to one of his predecessors the language appeared so difficult that he took steps to suppress it and actually, with the permission of his superiors and the consent of the Real Audiencia, tried to substitute Aztec or Mexicano! Needless to say, the attempt was fruitless, and only led to greater confusion.

Despite the eclipse of the Dominicans, —the only monastic order to exert any real influence among the Indians in the State of Oaxaca— considerable evidence of their work is still to be found among the Chinantec, notably in the construction of the churches themselves and in their interior decoration, and here too the Dominican saints still predominate, easily distinguished by their black and white habits.

The general appearance of the churches of the Wah-mi area would indicate that one and all had been erected at approximately the same date, probably towards the middle of the 18th century and possibly later. So close is the resemblance between them that one might be tempted to argue

(47).—"*Relaciones topográficas de pueblos... hechas por los curas de los mismos al cuestionario enviado al Obispo de Antequera por D. Antonio Bucareli y Ursua*".



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they are the work of one architect or small group. In a more advanced region, they would be ascribed to a much earlier date; their decoration, external and internal being so very simple and largely 17th century or early 18th century in style.

The churches of Lalana and Lovani are chiefly of stone, but most of the others are of adobe though occasionally resting upon a stone base. There are no side-aisles but a long nave, transepts and a short chancel, square ended and backed with a massive painted or gilded retablo. Vaulting is never attempted, and there is likewise no dome. There is no external decoration save upon the façade which displays a simple arrangement of pilasters rising in two orders to frame the portal and the chief window which is very often circular and occasionally, —in the later churches— star-shaped and grooved to resemble a shell. All this decoration is carried out in plaster, whitewashed. The rest of the exterior, even when made of adobe only, is often left unwhitewashed save round the doorways. The windows are small, often circular, placed very high above the ground, and have wooden shutters, never glass.

In very few instances was a tower ventured upon—owing to the risk from earthquakes, which, in fact, have demolished most of the towers begun, and have rent large holes in certain churches—, that of Tepinapa, for example. Often, however, there is a turret beside the facade, containing a stairway to the *coro alto*. The roof is always a heavy thatch constructed in the current Chinantec manner and projecting several feet beyond the line of the façade, (so that it forms a porch), and is often supported at the very end by two lofty poles.

Where, as at Lalana and Lacova, the original type of ceiling remains, it is a simple structure of cross-beams, supported on Mudejar type rolled eaves brackets.

The interior furnishings are mostly of the late 18th century and include primitively executed ultra-barock retables of the type usually mis-named Churrigueresque, occasionally gilded but more often painted in vivid colors—, red and blue.

Several old carved saints and images are retained in every church, most of which were obviously imported from more progressive regions. The crucifix in the high-altar and the "Christo" of Lalana are of some merit, but too many of the images are of the type with articulated limbs, though happily preserving in many cases their original 18th century costumes. Fine sacristy chests remain at Lalana, Lacova and Petlapa. At Ozumazin there is a richly carved organ-case, and at Lalana an interesting lectern in the form of a Hapsburg Eagle, gilded and painted.

Among the Wah-mi, we found no silver ornaments of value or interest. It is evident that this region must always have been backward and poverty-stricken, even for the Chinantec, since in contrast to this, we found among the Western Chinantec some very fine examples of old ecclesiastical silverwork. At Usila, there remain in the church a splendid processional cross and banner, candlestick, and hanging lamp, all of silver.

#### THE MEDIOEVAL BACKGROUND.

repoussé, and probably made in Oaxaca at the close of the 17th century. San Juan Quioitepec, San Pedro Yolox, and El Barrio Temextitlan all retain fine silver crosses and banners—, of 18th century workmanship.

Naturally, one finds among the Chinantec the usual legends of idols hidden within the church walls, or of gold buried in the foundations, but these are of little account. Whether such things exist or not do not now matter. Of all the primitive tribes in Mexico, the Chinantec are among the most effectively Christianised. Though their contact with the Spanish-speaking world has always been slight, the Chinantec, once converted, proved remarkably steadfast in the new religion so that now it is a wonder to us that so little is retained among them that is obviously pre-conquest.

However, if we accept the theory that the Chinantec were already "on the downward grade" before the coming of the friars, if not actually before the coming of the Spaniards, we can easily appreciate the reasons for this. The Chinantec were in a different position from the vigorous, intellectually alert Maya or Zapotec who preserved to the bitter end the remnants of their former civilization. The Chinantec, as happens with all Indians whose prosperity is waning—were already forgetting or had forgotten their ancient lore: we may note again the passage in the *Relación* stating that they had no medicines and were obliged to borrow cures from the Mexicans! They were thus "ripe" for conversion—and fresh mental or moral stimulus once their confidence in the missionaries had been won.

Well-known is the tolerance of the Indian and the readiness with which he accepts any belief or statement from those he considers more intelligent than himself. Moreover, the Indian has a unique facility for being able to accept a new basic idea without discarding those that according to our manner of reasoning it supercedes. The Chinantec accepted Christianity and Christianity plays a superlative role in his life at the present day.

The teaching of Christianity was, therefore, by far the most important event in Chinantec history, —far more important in itself than the arrival of the Spaniards. It may be well therefore to sum up the changes wrought here by the Dominicans and their successors, the secular clergy.

The Chinantec were made to wear clothes and to live in villages instead of in *rancherías* or isolated farms. They occasionally cultivated crops for Spanish landlords and learned to grow coffee and latterly bananas and tobacco. Horses, donkeys and cows were no doubt imported but did not survive. A few of the Chinantec learned to read and write in their own language, but not necessarily in Spanish. The friars taught them passion plays and gave them new dances in place of their own or found for their old dances a Christian moral. Their conversion was so slowly and cleverly undertaken that they incorporated a few of the old pagan customs within their Christianity in such a way that it is now extremely difficult to disentangle the pagan from the Christian, and the Chinantec

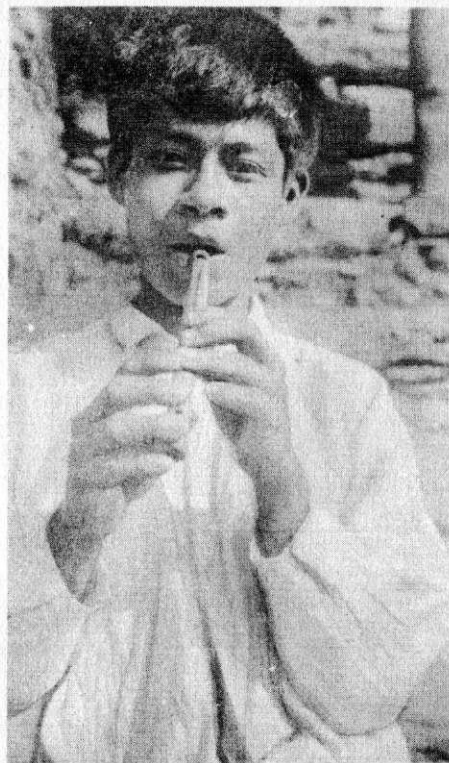


#### REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

themselves have completely forgotten the origin or meaning of certain of their (to us), strange customs. What have they preserved then from former days?... their language, their Calendar, certain customs in their communal life, their costume, the manner in which the women dress their hair, their food and certain traits in their character.

The most important of these survivals is the Calendar, and we may ask how it is that, with such strong Christian influence, that Calendar has remained in current use. The answer to this is probably that the Calendar is preserved solely because it is of agricultural, not mythological significance, and the month names were constantly in use for decisions as to when to sow or reap the crops. Owing to the importance of Sunday and compulsory attendance at church, the day names fell out of use and were lost.

Such was the Chinantla after the frailes had done their work of evangelization and such, scarcely changed, it remains to-day. Their life is almost precisely that of the late 16th century, but far removed from the time when they were famed as lancers and marched gaily into Zempoala.



40.—J. A. S.

Lacova

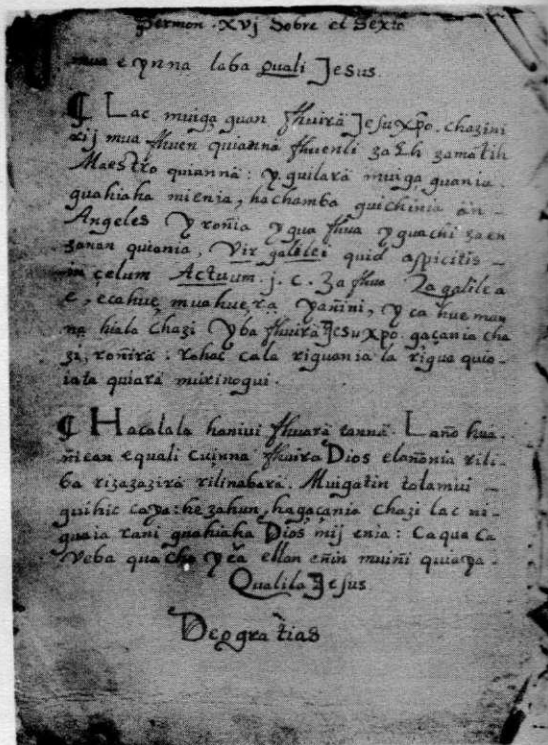


41.—B. B.

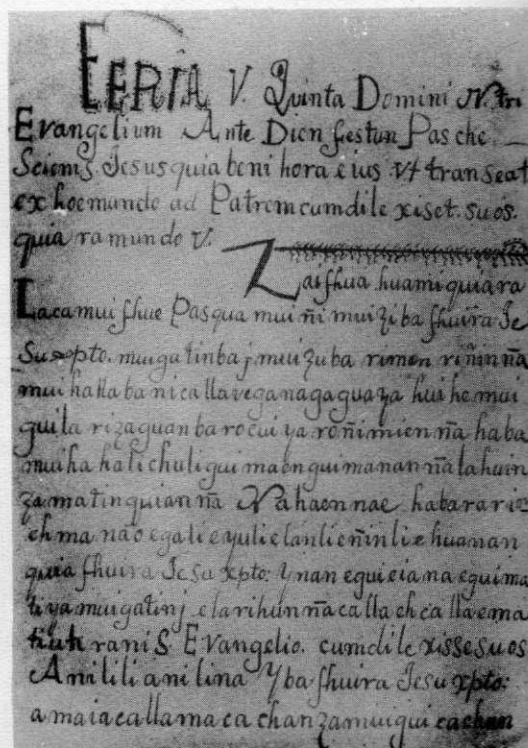
Lacova

Left: Chirimía player. Right: a Cantor with his old manuscript book. Such books were originally made for the Chinantec by the Dominicans of Villa-Alta in the 16th Century and, copied and recopied ever since, are still in constant use, where, in the churches, they are read in precisely the manner laid down by Francisco de Saravia, (died 1630) and as recorded by Burgoa. These books are often read by cantores having little or no knowledge of Spanish!





The text is in Chinantec, with headings in Latin and occasionally in Spanish. These manuscripts were probably made at Petlapa. They are still in use.



45.—B. B.

## Modern Chinantec Manuscript still in use at Lalana

Feria V. Quinta L ommini N. tri Evangel-  
ium Ante Dien Festun Pasche.  
1st. l'age.

## CHAPTER VI

## Religious Customs of the Present Day

Within a few miles of the town of Villa-Alta—still in large degree a Spanish settlement—we found, among the Zapotec, plenty of evidence to show the survival of ancient religious rites. Among certain pre-Cortesian ruins on the top of a hill venerated as “the hill which is good”, we noticed curious holes in the ground, in the pedestal of a cross and in the base of an ancient stone wall. In these holes we found eggs, flowers, little circles or rings of bread, cocoa-beans and other objects deposited as offerings. Moreover, a strong odor of blood and the peculiar blackness and consistency of the earth within the holes pointed to a sacrifice recently performed. Large piles of turkey-feathers which lay scattered round about proved conclusively that turkeys had indeed been the victims.

But in no part of the Chinantla did we find similar evidence or anything leading to the belief that such rites were still practised. At Teotalcingo we saw a primitive stone idol... a mere shaft with human features incised... “that watches over the *pueblo*”, and we were informed in several places of the existence of caves containing **broken** idols of much the same character. It appears that in every case the idols were broken and no longer erect. This and the readiness with which the natives informed us of their location were signs that the idols no longer excited veneration. The missionaries and priests had done their work with commendable thoroughness. Thus, perhaps the most surprising feature of the religion of the Chinantec is not, as one might have expected, the survival of pagan rites within the framework of their Christianity, but rather the comparative orthodoxy of their religion.

Despite the absence of priests for so many years, the lack of religious instruction and Government suppression of *fiestas*, Religion still plays an all-important part in the lives of these simple people. Their unmitigated poverty, a forlorn hope of opportunity in this life and a consequent faith in the life hereafter are sufficient to account for their steadfast adherence to Catholicism and a confident hope that some reward will be bestowed upon them for their present miserable existence.

The training given by the early missionaries has never been forgotten, and to this day one finds in almost every village of the Wah-mi one or more Indians able to conduct a simple service precisely on the lines laid down for them by Fr. Francisco de Saravia in the 16th century. These



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native lay-readers, **cantores** or **capillas** as they are called, enjoy great respect among the villagers and carry out their duties with remarkable devotion, even to the point, noticed by Burgoa, of intoning the prayers, Litany, Rosary etc. "with long pauses and diligence very worthy of imitation".

To us, the most interesting feature of their work lies in the survival of the Chinantec language in the church services. Not all the service is read in Chinantec, for many of the **cantores** are able to stumble through the more usual prayers in Latin. The Rosary and Litany of the Virgin, however, are often repeated in Chinantec, and during important **fiestas** such as those in Holy Week or the Assumption of the Virgin, the greater part of the service is conducted in this language.

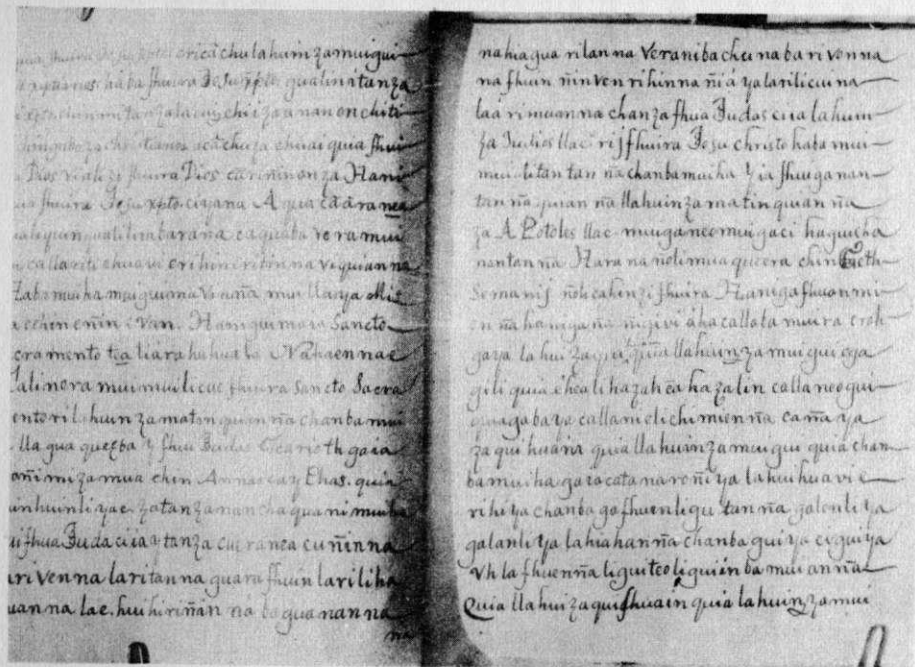
It is so long since parish priests visited the Wah-mi and even then were able only to make a hasty round of the villages, baptizing, marrying and holding Mass at important **fiestas**, that the present generation of **Cantores** must have learned to read from other Indian **cantores** and not directly from Spanish-speaking priests. This would account for the curious fact that many can read the old Chinantec with ease, but are quite unable to read Spanish, of which language they understand only a few words.

In the chapter dealing with Chinantec manuscripts I have noted those which are in general use and have remarked upon the survival not only of the sermons which take the place of the Offices for the day but the more interesting sermons upon the Articles of the Faith, here called **Articulos de la Divinidad** and **Articulos de la Humanidad** which were evidently written especially for them by the early missionaries, and are still read and greatly venerated.

In many instances, the manuscript has been copied within recent years, which proves that the Wah-mi are still able to write their own language or at least to copy the old Spanish rendering of it, and moreover, are able to understand the words as written, even though the modern pronunciation does not accord with the spelling. The **cantor** is sometimes assisted by young men, and these too have learned to read from the old manuscripts or the copies, so there is fortunately no immediate danger of this—very difficult—art becoming lost.

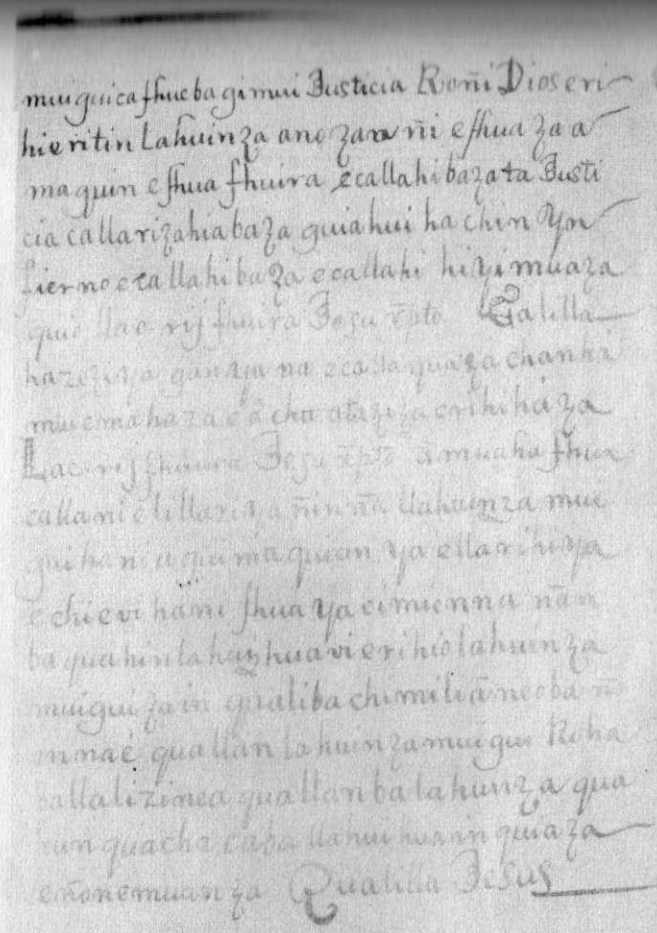
The ritual then, is in the hands of the **cantor** or **capilla**. The organization of **fiestas**, however, is the special department of another official, the **Mayordomo** who, in some places, acts at the same time as sacristan, and in the more prosperous localities, deals in wax which he collects from guttering candles, in amulets, rosaries, scapulas, etc., given to children by their **padrinos**.

Religious festivals form an exhilarating interlude in the drab life of the Chinantec, and to a popular **fiesta** pilgrims will resort from neighboring villages. However, a **fiesta** here does not draw a large concourse of pilgrims from places far distant, as do Zapotec and Mexican **fiestas**. The extreme poverty of the tribe and the consequent surprisingly small amount of trade at a Chinantec **fiesta** will probably account for this. A



46. B. B.

2nd. and 3rd. Pages

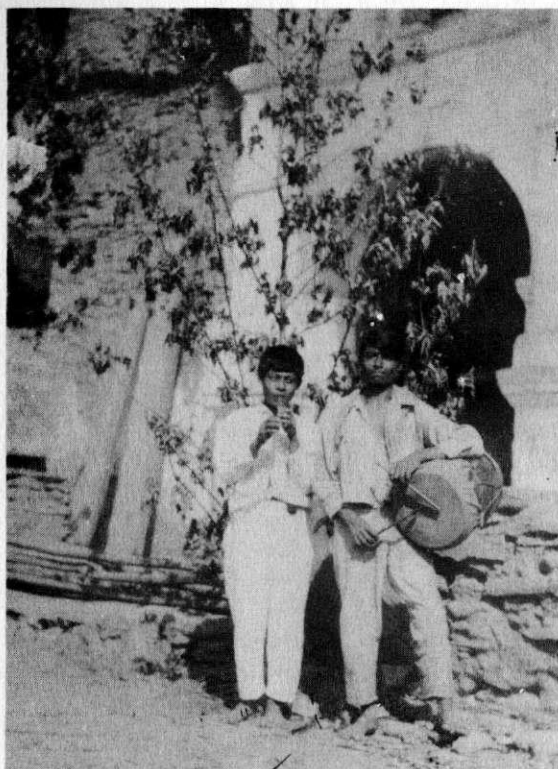


47. B. B.

Final page of the Chinantec manuscript entitled:

Feria V. Quinta Domini N. tri Evangelium Ante Dien Festur  
Pasche. . 12th and last page.





48.—R. J. W.

**At Lacova, the Drum and Chirimia are used during certain of the church services**

During the ceremony known as "Tinieblas" they represent the "Forces of Evil" waging war against the "Forces of Good", typified by gentle music played in the church by the municipal or community band.



49.—B. B.

**"The twelve Apostles"**

At Lalana and other villages, small boys are dressed as the Apostles for the Easter ceremonies.

At Labana and other villages, small boys are dressed as the Apostles for the Easter ceremonies

are used during certain of the church services

During the ceremony known as "Tinielbas" they represent the "forces of Evil" which was against the "forces of Good" helped by youth much placed in the hands by the moon and in community band

## RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS OF THE PRESENT DAY

Chinantec *fiesta* is therefore primarily of religious, not commercial, significance. Itinerant pottery sellers are sometimes encountered, but there is none of that great commercial activity, festive spirit, busy air and gossip which distinguished a Zapotec festival... save in the evenings when, unfortunately, the religious element is forgotten and the feast only too often degenerates into a drunken revel.

In the Western Chinantla, but so far as we are aware, not among the Wah-mi, there survives an interesting custom in connection with certain feasts. One or more *ancianos* will make a pilgrimage to neighboring villages and will there deposit *reliquias* in the form of branches from an aromatic shrub. Sometimes also, according to an unwritten law, the *ancianos* are accompanied by three widows and by *topiles* or municipal messengers whose duty it is to carry *tortillas* for the travellers. These *tortillas* are made by three other widows from the village. On their return, the pilgrims are received by the townsfolk who, forming a procession, carry *reliquias* back to their own church.

It might be expected in so backward a tribe and one living in so remote a district that pagan customs, ancient rites and dances would survive practically unimpaired. The truth appears to be that such customs do not necessarily survive in a backward tribe to any greater extent than they do in a progressive tribe. Progressive tribes like the Zapotec quickly take on customs shown to them by people they consider their betters, yet adhere to their ancient tenets... as witness the survival of turkey sacrifice in a country where schools are plentiful and trade is brisk. But the Chinantec are, alas, characterised by their inertia. They have not yet learned the new customs, yet at the same time their old rites and customs have been forgotten, and *nothing* has taken their place!

There appears to be no dancing, either of pagan or Christian origin, among the Chinantec. On several occasions we were informed that there exist no Chinantec verses or songs, —one man explaining "We have only one tune, and when we are drunk we make up the words as we go along: we do not sing unless we are drunk". This may well be true, in the Wah-mi district for among the Mije, we were likewise informed of the absence of songs and verses, and on much more reliable authority. They existed in the olden time, as we know from Burgoa, who notes that the Chinantec received Fr. Francisco de Saravia "with music and strange dances" but these things have long disappeared. At Toabela, we found an 18th century manuscript written in Spanish, giving the words to the Dance of "Los Reyes Moros", so this, too, was evidently known in the region and has now been forgotten. As to the songs, a few have indeed survived among the Western Chinantec, particularly at San Antonio Analco, Santiago Tlatepusco and Quetzalapa, but it is, alas, true that the inhabitants of these villages will only sing when drunk.

In the preparation of a *fiesta*, the chief expenses of a village result from the buying of candles to burn before the particular saint venerated. At Lovani, we were present at a feast in aid of a festival, —the *Fiesta*



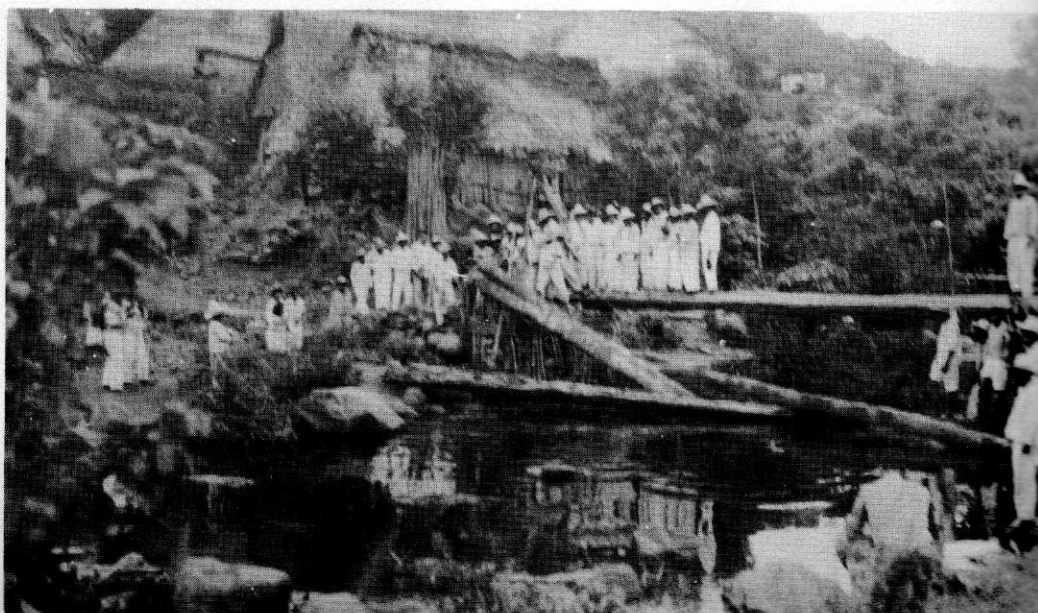
PLATE 24



52.—B. B.

**"Tequios" or "Fatiga"**

On Sunday mornings and sometimes on Saturdays, all the able bodied men in a Chinantec village are obliged to take part in communal labor. By such communal labor, trails are cleared, schools and bridges are built, municipios and churches are repaired. Non-arrivals are fined one Peso.



53.—R. J. W.

Public Works Project. Chinantec Style



## RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS OF THE PRESENT DAY

the other Apostles, the 14 candles would be extinguished, one by one. When finally, all of these and those on the altar had been extinguished signifying the complete abandonment of Christ as the hour of death approached, the **cantor** placed his own candle, (the last remaining light in the church) on the floor and screened it with a rolled **petate** which he covered over with a red cloth. The band was still playing its soft, harmonious little tune, and the church was now in complete darkness.

According to the usual ritual "a dull sound" should then have been made, suggesting the earthquake and the veil of the temple rent in twain; —the confusion of nature in the Death of Christ—, but among the Chinantec, the procedure was entirely different.

Suddenly, there was a violent noise outside the church. Rude blows were delivered on the doors. Large wooden rattles were twirled in jarring chorus. Bugle blasts rent the air, a drum was rolled, and upon a **chirimía** or six-noted flute, was played a weird little tune. The noise was deafening. For a time it wholly enveloped the gentle music of the band, then, seeming to lose heart, it would subside, and the gentle music could be detected through the din. Finally, after a prolonged and wavering "battle" lasting a full half hour, the Good, as typified by the band, overcame the Evil. Rattles, **chirimía** and drum were banished from the church; the heavy blows upon the doors ceased; the candles were re-lighted and the dramatic ceremony was at an end.

Apart from this dramatic element and the stagecraft exhibited in this impressive ceremony, the use of the **chirimía** is perhaps the most interesting feature. It would appear that all through Chinantec religious observances, the **chirimía** is used to represent the Devil.

During the **fiesta** at Lacova on February 2nd, (**El Candelario**), the **chirimía** and drum were played almost throughout the services. —never inside the church but upon the threshold or on the outside staircase leading to the **coro alto**—, faintly audible at all times and remarkably suggestive of the ever watchful and propinquent evil forces!



the first of these is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The second is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The third is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The fourth is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The fifth is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The sixth is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The seventh is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The eighth is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The ninth is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation. The tenth is the fact that the Commission has not yet received the necessary information from the various countries to enable it to make a complete survey of the situation.



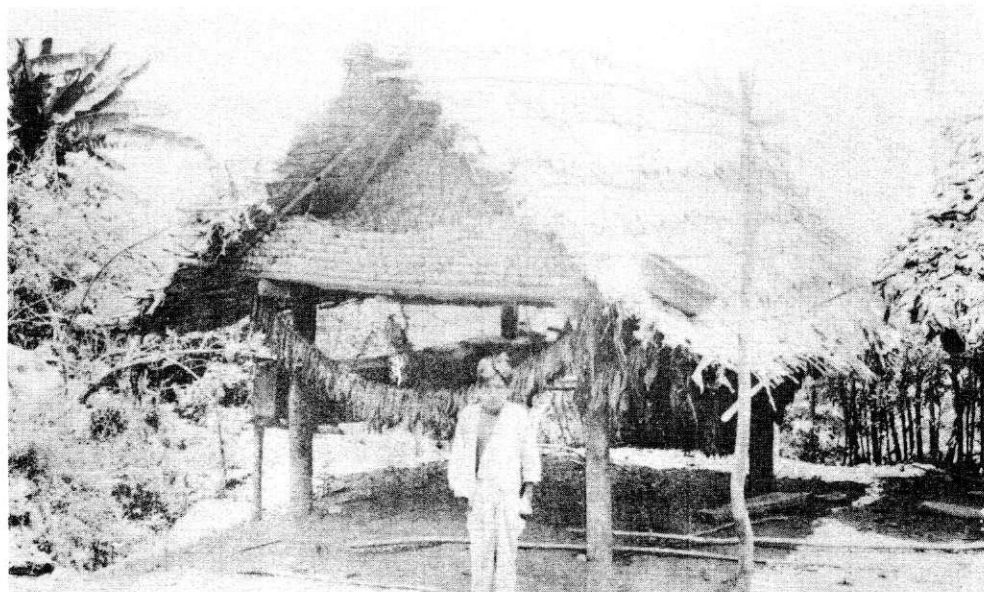
B. B.

At Petlapa



59. B. B.

Laundry at Ozumazin



60.—J. A. S.

Grain-elevator, beehive and tobacco warehouse

The corn cobs are seen neatly stored under the roof; tobacco leaves are strung on ropes from the corner posts, and the beehives, (wooden boxes) rest upon a shelf behind. Turkeys, chickens or pigs will sleep underneath.



PLATE 28



61.—B. B.

Coffee-grinding at Lalana

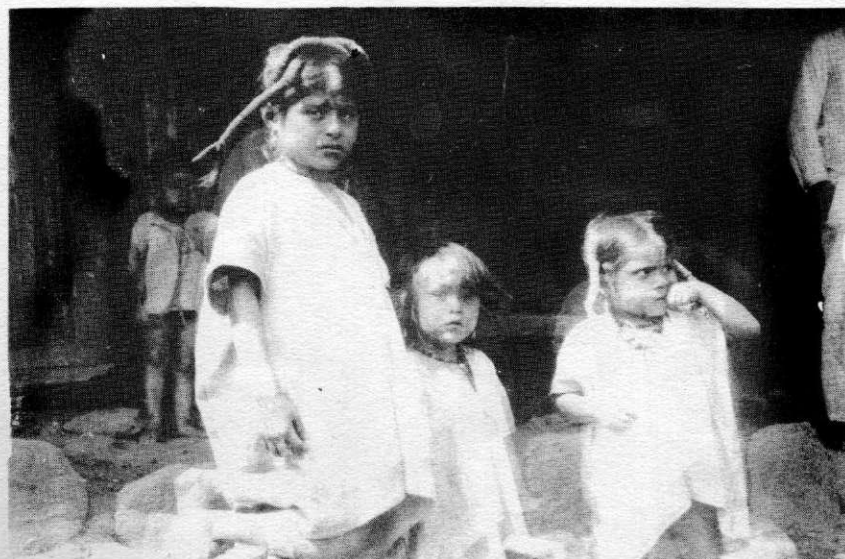
Coffee is the sole important export of the Chinantec.



62. B. B.

A local "forest" industry at Teninapa

Making fibre from "Pita", a long-leaved spined aloe. The fibre, after being dressed as shown here, is washed in the stream, when it turns white and silky. The fibre is carried to Yalalag where Zapotec craftsmen fashion it into rope, hammocks, string bags and even garments.



63.—B. B.

Lalana

Little girls here and in certain other Chinantec villages wear their hair in two long pigtails, bound tightly all the way down with...



## CHAPTER VII

### Municipal Organization

The Municipal organization of a Chinantec village follows in general principle that found almost throughout Mexico; a curious combination of the pre-Cortesian communal system, the old Spanish form of village government and that of a modern district council. It is unnecessary to attempt the identification of each of these elements within the general framework, for the system is wellknown and with but slight modification, is found in many Latin-American countries.

There are no tribal chiefs since the individuality of the tribes is unrecognized by the central, (Federal), and State Governments as well as by the people themselves, who seem totally unaware of their tribal unity. The head of each small village is the **Presidente Municipal**, who is responsible to the **Presidente Municipal** of the largest village in the immediate neighborhood, i. e. the **Municipio**. In his turn, the **Presidente** of a village large enough to be called a **Municipio** is responsible to the **Presidente** of the chief town in the **Distrito**. Finally, the **Presidente** of a **Distrito** is responsible to the State Government which, in this case, is located at Oaxaca.

With presidents of municipal districts we are not concerned, for no one of these is Chinantec, the Chinantec villages being in all cases subservient to Zapotec or Spanish-speaking towns such as Tuxtepec and Choapam. We have only to deal with presidents of **municipios**, of smaller villages within the **municipios** and of **agencias** which are usually **rancherías** not yet grown to the dignity and status of **pueblo**.

The village president is elected annually from among the local **contribuyentes** or voters, that is to say the able-bodied men of the village. There is no election campaign, for the office goes more or less in rotation to each of the responsible members of the community. There seems to be no law forbidding re-election but it is seldom that one president serves two terms in succession. It is true that this system in no way aids the choice of natural leaders or of educated men capable of exercising their authority, but it is fair to all, and there can be no jealousies. During his year of office, the president's authority is never questioned. The **contribuyentes** one and all obey his commands and accord him becoming reverence. The president receives no pay whatever. The post is entirely



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**ad honorem**, and often entails personal sacrifice on the part of the holder. for he is called upon to occupy himself with the business of the village in times when normally he would be out at work on his own *ranchería*. If he lives in a *ranchería*, he will have to take up residence in the *pueblo* while he is president.

Although all decisions finally rest with the President, the most important person in the village is not the president but the **Secretario Municipal**. This man, the only permanent official, is paid either with money collected by means of small contributions from the voters, or he may be freely supplied with food and lodging. In some cases he is given land which he himself may cultivate or which is cultivated for him by the *contribuyentes*. That the office of **Secretario** is capable of providing a livelihood was proved for us by the boast of a schoolmaster who stated that he had given up his teaching post and pay of 30 pesos a month in order to become secretary to another village. He was, of course, a Zapotec, and had succeeded in gaining possession of certain lands confiscated from the original pre-Revolution, owners (owing to non-payment of taxes) and handed over to the *pueblo*. In another instance, but among the Western Chinantec, we learned the Municipal Secretary received 40 pesos a month.

The duties of the secretary are ostensibly to keep all records of births, marriages and deaths, and to transact official business between the villages and the *municipio* or between the **Municipios** and the chief town of the *Distrito*. The district capitals and in their turn the *municipios* may demand certain favors from the villages **within** their jurisdiction... a contribution of logs to build a school, labor for the repair of trails, etc. etc. In practise, the secretary is the counsellor or adviser of the President, and being a permanent official, he gains considerable experience in the management of the village through advising one yearly-elected president after another.

The presidents are no better educated than their fellows. In the small villages, they are almost invariably illiterate and usually monolingual, but the secretary is of superior type, not necessarily a native of that particular village, and usually able to read a little Spanish. His duties as register of births, marriages and deaths are not, however, to be taken very seriously, for sometimes he is unable to read or write... a drawback which somehow does not seem to affect his prestige or interfere with the execution of his work!

In many cases, as already stated, the secretary is a Zapotec. If so, he will invariably be able to read and write Spanish, but it does not necessarily follow that he can understand Chinantec! The resolutions agreed upon at village meetings are translated to him and he, through the same interpreters, offers his advice. Altogether, the differences and difficulties of language do not appear so important to these villagers as they would to us. Mr. Weitlaner was present at a village meeting or *junta* at Boca del Monte in which Spanish, Zapotec and Mije were all employed.



## MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

Depending on the president for their orders, are the police. These are drawn mostly from the younger men of the village who, taking turns at the job, serve in sections, perhaps three or four together, under the command of one older man. There is very little crime of any description, and practically no robbery. For perhaps a week or two at a time, the three or four men forming a section will make nightly rounds of the village. In certain localities, they ring the curfew at 11. P. M. and again ring the church bells in the small hours, just to show that they themselves are awake and guarding the **pueblo**. Sometimes, they are made to watch the river, to uphold the law against fishing with dynamite, but their chief concern is to prevent quarrels and fires or other damage to houses and property at the hands of drunken comrades. Strangers entering a village are carefully questioned and their precise business ascertained. Drunk and quarrelsome persons are at night locked up in the little prison room, an adjunct of every **municipio**, until sobriety or their temper returns. At Cuasimulco, they are placed in stocks. In the case of a genuine quarrel, opponents are brought before the **Alcalde**, a sort of minor judge, chosen from among the village elders, who settles the dispute and, after conferring with the President, sometimes imposes a fine. Most "civil" cases, however, are laid at the hands of the president himself.

In some villages, one finds other municipal titles in vogue. There is a **Sindico**, a **Regidor**, a **Primer** and **Segundo Mayor**, etc., but it would appear that such titles are purely honorific and the duties of these men a sinecure.

After the President and other above-named officials have served their term of office, they automatically become **ancianos**, and in the survival of the authority of these "elders" we have, perhaps, a remnant of the pre-Cortesian social organization. It does not appear that the **ancianos** can over-ride the wishes of the President, but no important decision is made without consulting them. At Quetzalapa, when it was decided to repair the **Curato**, the President and chief officers conferred publicly first with the **ancianos** and then with the young men of the village, and only when Young and Old had agreed upon the measures to be adopted, were the repairs undertaken.

Finally, there are the **topiles** or municipal messengers, who are at the call of the President at all times. Like all the municipal functionaries save the Secretary, they are unpaid. In some villages, only married men, i. e. with wives to provide them with food may be **topiles**. In others, they are mere boys, the sons of **contribuyentes**, but not themselves old enough to vote.

The **topiles** may be compared to the "fags" at an English public school. They are responsible for the cleanliness and upkeep of the **Municipio**: they will run errands to distant **pueblos** on behalf of the President. They will fetch letters and newspapers for the schoolmaster, if so ordered, and thus take the place of mail carriers. The President will normally detail several of them to look after visitors in his **pueblo**; fetch them **petates** to sleep upon, and bring them food and water. At Lalana, there



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were at least four **topiles** in constant attendance on the President who, nearly every day, would dispatch one or more of them to Choapam... eight leagues away. It would appear that owing to their exceptionally heavy duties these **topiles** received a salary—20 **centavos** per diem!

The **contribuyentes** or voters consist of all the able-bodied men of the village. This number includes not only the householders, for several able-bodied men may live, together with their wives and children, beneath one roof, along with their parents or parents in law. All single men of 21 are included and younger men if married.

There are practically no municipal taxes, except on the rare occasions when anything has to be bought outside the village, such as a table or chair for the **Municipio**, or when a skilled artisan is called upon to make repairs to the **municipio**, school or church. The most important contribution of the **contribuyentes** is their own personal labor.

Communal labor forms an integral part of Chinantec life, and is known here by its very old name **tequio** signifying fatigue duty, while the more modern terms **fatiga** and **faena**, general in other parts of Mexico, are seldom heard.

**Tequios** take place every Sunday morning and occasionally on Saturdays as well, the variety of work tackled being very great. The church, the **municipio**, the **curato** and the great hammock bridges in the forest are kept in constant repair. Sometimes the little **plaza** is planted with shrubs and flowers. Though new trails and short cuts through the woods are very seldom embarked upon, the existing trails to neighboring villages are supposed to be repaired (at least to the satisfaction of villagers), once in three years, or once in five years—according to the locality. Since the advent of schools, communal labor has increased, for the schools are built and furnished in their entirety by the village people themselves.

Attendance at communal labor is rigorously enforced by the presidents, and those who do not come, unless hindered by illness, are fined or imprisoned. At Ozumazin, as much as one **Peso** is demanded for non-attendance at **tequios**. At Yolox, a man is imprisoned for three days.

It is interesting to note the abuses occasionally found in the system of **tequios**, abuses which are limited, it seems, to one or two of the larger and more "civilized" places. It is customary in these villages for each **anciano**, upon attaining the dignity of this position, to make a gift to his **pueblo**. At Usila, the "gift" is compulsory and takes the form of a **garrafón** of **aguardiente**.

Now, in this little town, not only are **tequios** accompanied by the municipal band, which plays selections from its **repertoire** to amuse **la gente** during all communal labor, but drink flows all too freely. Sometimes, particularly during the troublesome erection of a hammock-bridge, there is not enough drink to go round. The President, therefore, forcibly elects a few young men as **ancianos**. Told that they will henceforth be free from **tequios** all their lives, they cannot refuse the "honor", and are



## MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

compelled to subscribe the necessary **garrafon** of **aguardiente**—at a cost of 12 to 14 **Pesos**—a sum they can ill afford.

As interesting as the system of communal labor itself are the means by which the **contribuyentes** are summoned to work. Occasionally they are summoned by conch-shell, blown by one of the **topiles**. At Lachixola they are summoned... and long before sunrise... with a loud clear call: "Hi gie na ta" "Let us go to work". But these methods of calling for attendance are exceptional. Usually the people are notified by drum.

However inapplicable in some respects, one cannot resist the temptation to speak of this "municipal drum" as a tom-tom, so very similar does it sound to the tom-tom of African tribes, when heard in the Chinantec jungle or from far away across the hills. It is, however, "descended" from the Aztec **teponaxtle** or wooden drum found in Mexico in pre-conquest times and still surviving in a few remote villages. It was disappointing to find no example of the old wooden drum among the Chinantec but one cannot help feeling that a diligent search might be rewarded.

Despite the modern type in use to-day, the drum is still employed here quite as much as an instrument for calling attention or for conveying messages as in its more ordinary function as accompaniment to instruments of music.

Early on Sunday morning and sometimes, too, upon the previous evening, **tequios** would be announced by a long intermittent roll. At Tepinapa, it was beaten—in a very different rythm—on nine consecutive evenings to announce the religious festival at Lacova, nearby. At Ozmazin, it was used to announce **tequios**, the arrival of strangers, (our own party), and that food for men and horses was required. In this last instance, elaborate and constantly changing rythms were employed, and the drum was beaten almost continuously for some three hours, a great variety of messages being, no doubt, relayed in that time.

Except at Yetla, where it is incumbent upon each incoming president to present the **Municipio** with a drum to be used exclusively for summoning the people, the village drum, although used for the several purposes mentioned above, in reality belongs to the municipal band; that strange but omnipresent feature of the Chinantec village, and which forms part of both the Municipal and the Religious organizations, yet does not officially belong to either.

The instruments, those of a small commonplace band anywhere else in the world, are bought in Oaxaca and are often of German manufacture. They are not privately owned but are the property of the community as a whole, and are handed down from generation to generation to be used by anyone who wishes to play in the band and learns to master them. The leader of the band may be the president, any one of the elders, the **alcalde** or the **secretario**. Very often he is the **cantor** or lay-reader and conductor of services in the church.

For the municipal organization, the band will play "selected items" in the **plaza** on Sunday mornings, on National Holidays and for school

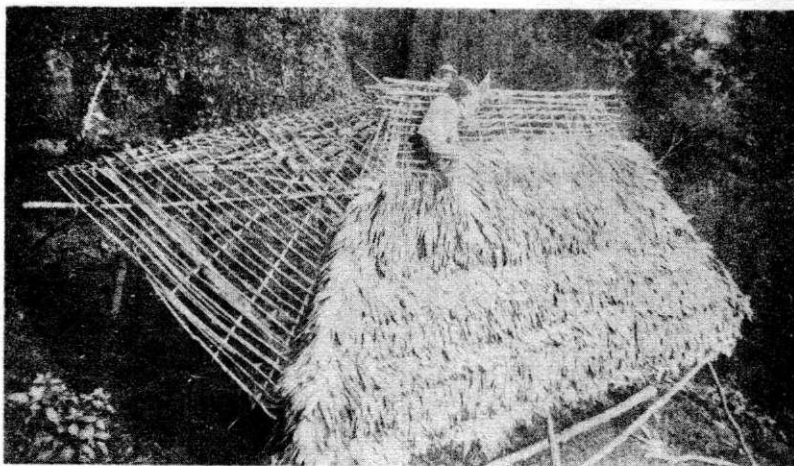


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functions or the arrival of distinguished visitors. For the religious organization, it will play, during fiestas, both inside and outside the church. Outside, it will lead the religious processions, and inside, it will take the place of an organ, accompanying the responses, the singing of the Rosary, the Litany or any part of the service requiring music. For the people, it celebrates marriage feasts, accompanies funeral processions to the graveside and plays in the house of the bereaved during the wake.

The tunes played do not vary very considerably for these different occasions, since the repertory of the band is not large. Thus, we found that among the Wah-mi, the most popular piece played in church was the dance "El Panadero". Sometimes, the tunes are played from sheet-music, sometimes by ear, but all, alas, are of recent importation and of little merit.

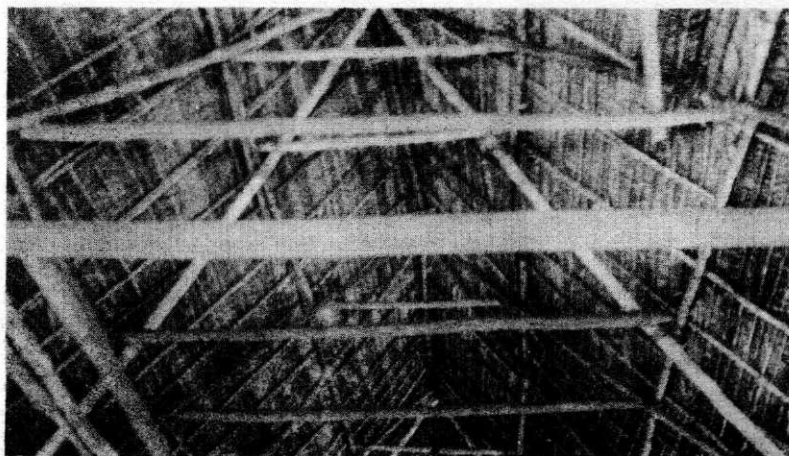
From his playing, the Chinantec cannot be described as a born musician, but he possesses a natural appreciation of music and remarkable enthusiasm. Cases are known in which the natives have composed their own pieces, and there is actually a "Chinantec March"! More often, when a member of the band hears an air whistled or sung in a neighboring village, he returns to play it over to his colleagues, who construct their own harmonies. The Chinantec are surprisingly adept in learning to read simple tunes. They can often master musical notation long before they can read, write or even speak a word of Spanish.



54.—B. B.

**Building a house at Lalana**

Laying the thatch... a grass called 'Rabo de Bobo'.



55.—J. A. S.

**Interior of Chinantec roof**

A Chinantec roof is very cleverly constructed without nails, the main supporting poles being laid according to an ingenious system of triangles and bound together with the vine named "bejuco".





56. B. B.

### Log-carriers of Petlapa

Among the Chinantec, the women and children share the work, however heavy, with the men.



57 B. B.

### The "Municipal Drum" at Tepinapa

In many villages of the Chinantec, a drum is beaten to announce communal labor, a religious feast or the arrival of strangers. It would appear that the rythm changes according to the message to be delivered.



## CHAPTER VIII

### Customs and Costume

The most obvious feature of Chinantec life is its very drabness and lack of incident. Not blessed with great powers of concentration or of perseverance, the Chinantec toil diligently but somewhat lethargically all their lives, and have little opportunity for merrymaking. The simplicity of their existence is naturally consequent upon their poverty. **Fiestas**, few and far between, are organized upon the simplest scale, and we may almost say that the people have no pleasures except in their religious ceremonies and, alas, in drink.

We know from the **Relaciones** that of old there were many private as well as public festivities, —affairs evidently among the family only, when they would dance and sing, **haciendo mitote** as the **Relaciones** describe. But as already noted in the chapter dealing with their religious customs, the mere fact that a tribe is backward and remote from the main streams of civilization does not necessarily imply that it preserves its ancient customs. There appear to survive no special festivities or rites at the birth of a child, or again at death, the mourning ritual being markedly simple and differing in no way from that practised by more advanced peoples. The dead person is stretched out upon a table, if such exists, or upon the floor, or upon one of the rude log-built beds found in this region. Candles are lighted at his head and feet, and sometimes flowers are placed beside him. The **cantor** will be called in to read a few prayers, and the municipal band, or part of it, will sometimes play music outside the house during the night of watching, before the body is taken to the graveside. Friends of the mourners will join in the wake and are provided with food and drink.

By far the most interesting family custom found to survive among the Chinantec is that attendant upon marriage. A young man about to marry presents his prospective mother-in-law with a gift of money or of turkeys, the precise number of turkeys varying with the wealth of the bride-groom's family and the "merits" of the future bride. When the gift is made in money, the amount is never more than ten Pesos. The number of turkeys appears to vary between four and eight. This custom must not be regarded in the nature of a sale. It is rather a means of compensating the mother-in-law for the loss of her child—, the loss of help





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in household duties. Thus, for a particularly capable, conscientious girl... one who is able to make *tortillas* quickly and carry a heavy load... the "price" is higher, while if she is merely pretty and not particularly efficient, the number of turkeys given will be small. If the bridegroom is very young and conditions do not warrant his building a home for himself, the boy's father will make the gift, and sometimes, if the mother-in-law is a widow, she will come to live with her new relatives by marriage. It is very often the custom for the sons of householders to continue living with their parents, although possessing wives and children of their own. One never finds that a woman, young or old, is permitted to live alone. Some-one in the village, a friend or relative, invariably looks after her.

This in part accounts for the ample dimensions of the average Chinantec house compared with those of tribes possessing far greater wealth: three or even four families may be living in the one home.

The Chinantec house is peculiarly well adapted to the tropical climate. Not only is it large and spacious, but the walls, made of fence-like sticks set close together perpendicularly in the ground, are placed well inside the line of the overhanging eaves, so that there is ample ventilation between the sticks forming the wall, —there are no proper windows—and between the top of the wall and the roof. Occasionally, the walls are of massive boards instead of sticks but this almost invariably denotes Zapotec influence: it may be guessed that the Chinantec would not undertake the laborious work of sawing boards unless the rigors of the climate demanded a strongly constructed house! The roof is carried on four great posts at the corners of the house and upon other stout posts spaced between them, the number varying in accordance with the size of the hut. The roofing timbers of the Western Chinantec houses are of no particular interest, but those of the Wah-mi are very ingeniously constructed upon a system of triangles, reducing the strain to a minimum. Thin poles, laid horizontally, carry the heavy thatch, usually made from a grass called *rabo de bobo*—, cool in the dry season, and warm during the rainy season. No nails are used either to hold the main beams in place or to secure the horizontal poles beneath the thatch. Each constructional member is secured by a double thong of *bejuco*, the vine used for baskets and bridges.

Once a house is constructed, it requires very little work to keep it in medium repair. The *bejuco* thongs securing the beams are renewed from time to time, and the thatch is renewed at intervals varying from five to seven years, the life of a thatch depending largely upon the quality and condition of the grass when first applied. Nevertheless, owing to the method of repairing a thatch, viz, merely covering the original roof with an extra layer of grass, the roof becomes heavier and heavier with age, and in time this leads the corner-posts to sink and the house to become insecure. Thus the life of a Chinantec hut is probably not more than 50 years. When it becomes dangerous, the house is rebuilt, and very largely with the old materials.



In the building of homes, the basic communal element in Chinantec life comes to the fore. All the friends of a man wishing to build will help him in the construction. A large step-ladder, made from a tree-trunk and with the steps cut in the solid wood, is kept ready in the **Municipio** for those wishing to build or to repair a thatch.

There is practically no moveable furniture in a Chinantec house other than a few low stools—often mere blocks of wood—and a small wooden chest modeled after the old Spanish travelling chest. The last-named are too well made to be the work of the Chinantec themselves, and since Choapam was formerly noted for its wooden chests, they may one and all have come from this village. In a small house, one bed is sufficient for the entire family—the owner, his wife and perhaps three children. In a large house, where several married children are living with their parents, there may be as many as three or four beds. Often, all the small children of the household will share one bed, while all the grown-up members of the family will share another. The bed itself, whether or not “embellished” with **petates**, does not represent the acme of comfort. Raised some two or three feet above the earth floor, it is made of thin poles, supported on primitive trestles and, on one side, by the outer wall of the house. Tables, raised higher from the ground, but in all other respects of similar construction to the beds, are commonly found, and there is sometimes also a little table for the **metate** (and there are often two of these in one house) upon which the corn is ground. Usually, however, the **metates** are laid on the ground, supported at one end by a large stone.

The “fireplace” consists of three or four big stones, with logs placed between them, and upon which the black pots of beans and corn are slowly cooking. A fan of pheasant feathers, neatly bound together and fastened to a wooden handle, hangs conveniently near. The house possesses no chimney, and the smoke escapes through the gap between the top of the walls and the roof. Beside the door, (made of sticks lashed together with vines and hung from “hinges” of the same material) stands a big water jar, with a **jicara** or gourd vessel placed over the top... ready for all to drink. The big jar never leaves the house, but is filled daily from smaller jars, easily carried to the stream.

Dangling from the roof are several pronged sticks for use as pegs, and on these hang clothes, a **machete**, a string net bag containing **tortillas** and chile for the men going to work on the **rancho**.

Inside the roof, upon the main transverse members, are laid thin poles, thus forming a sort of attic-storey or loft, reached by a small tree-trunk ladder, with steps hewn from the trunk itself. In this loft is stored the corn and any household objects not immediately required... spare water and cooking jars and two or three large round baskets to hold the corn after it has been shelled or rubbed off the cob. Usually a little corner of the house is set apart as a shrine. Upon a board fixed on the wall are



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pasted little pictures of saints, and occasionally, a candle or small oil lamp burns before them.

Such is the interior of a Chinantec house, and from it may be gained an idea of the simplicity of their life. Owing to the cost of wax for candles, the family will go to bed immediately after sundown. It will rise before day-break; the men to work on the **ranchos**, the women to begin their almost unceasing labor within the house... the grinding of corn on the **metate** and the kneading and patting of **tortillas**. To a casual visitor, the women appear to have more work than the men, but the latter toil all day on their land and have often many miles of rough going between their work and their village. From before eight o'clock in the morning until just before dusk, a village is deathly quiet, nearly all the men being away at work. Sometimes the women too will work on the **ranchos**, and one may see them returning with heavy loads of corn or wood upon their backs. Every child does his bit and carries a burden similar to that of his parents in everything save actual weight.

Much of the cleaning of the house is undertaken by the pigs, turkeys and chickens who between them manage to eat all that is left untidily about. There is thus no waste in a Chinantec household and their floors are nearly always clean. The chickens and turkeys sleep inside the house at night, but the pigs lie huddled together, right against the fence-like walls.

The women, in addition to their household duties, cooking, fetching and carrying water, washing the clothes and caring for the pigs, turkeys and chickens, are also sometimes occupied with beating and spinning cotton, this, in the Wah-mi region, to be used more often for the wicks of candles than for the making of clothes.

Before spinning, the raw cotton is placed on a heavy cushion or pillow covered with deer-hide, or pig-skin. It is then beaten with two beating rods made up of several divergent sticks fastened together at one end and bound with thin cord to form a convenient handle. The beating spreads the raw cotton into a thin and even sheet from which it is easier to obtain unvarying consistency in the finished thread. The spinning is performed on a distaff, the cotton tied loosely to it with grass and the little wooden bobbin or **malacate** allowed to spin idly on the floor or in a **jicara**. Cigarash is often placed in the **jicara**, to be rubbed on the fingers, so that with the added friction, they will spin the bobbin more easily.

It has already been said that most of the **huipiles** worn by the Wah-mi are made for them by the Zapotec and that therefore in most of these villages, the art of weaving is nearly forgotten. Among the South-Eastern Chinantec, it is only at Ozumazin and in certain villages of the Valle Nacional that really fine **huipiles** are still made locally, and here, too, the industry is not likely to survive many generations. In his efforts to achieve "progress" and "civilization" the schoolmaster of Valle Nacional itself has already forbidden children to attend school in their native costume!



64.—R. J. W.

**Chinantec women**

Note the peculiar style of hair-dressing. A long roll or "pigtail" is wound across the forehead to form a kind of crown. The hair is dressed with "Pixtle", a grease made from the seed of mamey and scented with almond. The lady to the left (back view) is unmarried; the lady to the right is married. Upon marriage, the women discard the woolen binding of their pigtails and are also permitted to wear the red skirt or "chiapaneco".



65. B. B.

It is woven chiefly in red and blue geometric patterns upon a white ground. This richly decorated type of huipil is worn only on Sundays and during fiestas. The skirt is red, woven with patterns not unlike a tartan.





66.—R. J. W.

**Costumes at Chiltepec**



67.—R. J. W.

**Costumes at Yetla**

The huipiles of the Valle-Nacional are among the richest woven by the Chinantec, and their designs, not confined to geometric patterns, include floral designs, vases of flowers, etc., etc., in red and blue on a white ground.

The weaving of material for clothes is accomplished out of doors upon a small very narrow-width home-made loom, carried horizontally in the hands, but held taught by a straw strap fastened round the back of the weaver and with the other end tied to a tree or the corner-post of a house.

Plain-stitch and cross-stitch are employed, and the colored wools and cotton forming the designs are woven into the fabric at the actual time this is made. In no case are the wools inserted or sewn in with a needle afterwards. During the weaving, the cotton is kept strong and resilient by being daubed with water containing *masa de tortilla*. A pointed bone or spine of a cactus is used to "comb" the threads and keep them even.

The sack-like *huipiles* are woven in three long strips, each piece,—for the average-sized Chinantec woman—some six feet in length. The piece intended for the center, (back and front), is usually some 13 inches wide, and the pieces intended for the sides, (back and front), are about 11 inches wide. It is only when the three strips forming the whole *huipil* are finished and joined together that the collar is cut out and appropriately decorated.

It must be emphasized that the finest Chinantec *huipiles* are not made either by the Wah-mi or the Hu-me, but in the Western Chinantec region,—especially at Usila, Ojitlan, Mayultianguis, Tlatepusco, Zapotitlan, Quetzalapa, Zautla and San Pedro Sochiapam. Those of Usila are the richest of all, while those of Quetzalapa appear to possess the most interesting decorative motifs.

In the present volume, we are not concerned with the work of these villages, but one curious fact should be stated. The best *huipiles* of Ozumazin very closely resemble those of Usila, and are quite different from those made by the Hu-me in the Valle Nacional. The *huipiles* of the Valle Nacional resemble those made at San Antonio del Barrio, a village again in the Western Chinantla. There is at present no satisfactory way to explain these isolated resemblances for there is little contact between these villages.

At Ozumazin, very ornate geometric patterns are woven into the fabric, red and blue being the most popular colors, and these *huipiles* are of such elaborate workmanship that scarcely a particle of the original white ground is allowed to show. The richest portion of the *huipil* is the middle piece, forming the back and front. The side-pieces are decorated with horizontal stripes the dominant color of which is red.

In the Valle Nacional, a preference is displayed for geometric designs of a different type. There is less accentuation upon horizontal stripes, and the dominant tone of the *huipil* is not red but white. On the back and front are seen intricate floral patterns of large size, in which brightly-colored flowers rise from vases or beakers. In these designs, birds are also found—, singly or confronted in pairs, or forming an item in a running pattern.



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Yetla seems to have specialized in animal motifs, showing lions, dogs, deer, etc., for the most part of rather primitive character.

All these figures are worked out in brilliant colors, red and blue predominating, but with small items in yellow, green and a somewhat vivid pink. The wools are not home-dyed but bought from outside the region. The colors are not fast and hence it is fortunate that in some villages the inhabitants prefer **huipiles** in which the colors have run! The "Hapsburg Eagle" and a "Serpent"—(very close to Maya design)—both of which are very commonly found in Western Chinantec **huipiles**, are seldom seen in Hu-me weaving.

In addition to these rich designs, the hems are disguised with chevron patterns sewn in red, and round the neck is usually seen a very elaborate collar-piece, worked in several colors.

Sometimes the entire **huipil** is dipped before wearing in the blue dye **fuchina**, an unfortunate and somewhat lurid color being thus obtained.

The most richly decorated **huipiles**—those in which the smallest amount of white is visible—are worn on Sundays and during **fiestas**. The plain white **huipil**—worn by the poorest inhabitants both among the Hu-me and the Wah-mi, undecorated save for the red or blue hemming, closely resembles the **huipiles** sold to them by the Zapotec.

We do not know the value of a Wah-mi **huipil**. Those, for every day use, at Quetzalapa in the Western area, are sometimes sold in the village for 5 Pesos,— with the hole for the neck left uncut, for the wearer to make and decorate herself. A good **huipil** at Usila may be worth as much as 15 Pesos. Nevertheless, the great majority of **huipiles** are never bought or sold but woven exclusively by the eventual wearers.

In all cases, the **huipiles** are very long, and reach well below the knees. There is no rule as to whether a skirt should be worn or not. The **huipil** is a warm garment and sufficient clothing in itself. In some villages, no skirts are worn. In others, a skirt is worn only by married women. In others again, a skirt is universal. All Chinantec skirts are very similar. They sometimes display patterns not unlike a tartan, but all are a brilliant red, are imported from Oaxaca and are of the type called **Chapaneco**, by which name they are, in fact, still known throughout the region. Save at Ozumazin and certain villages in the Valle Nacional, the **rebozo** is scarcely ever seen.

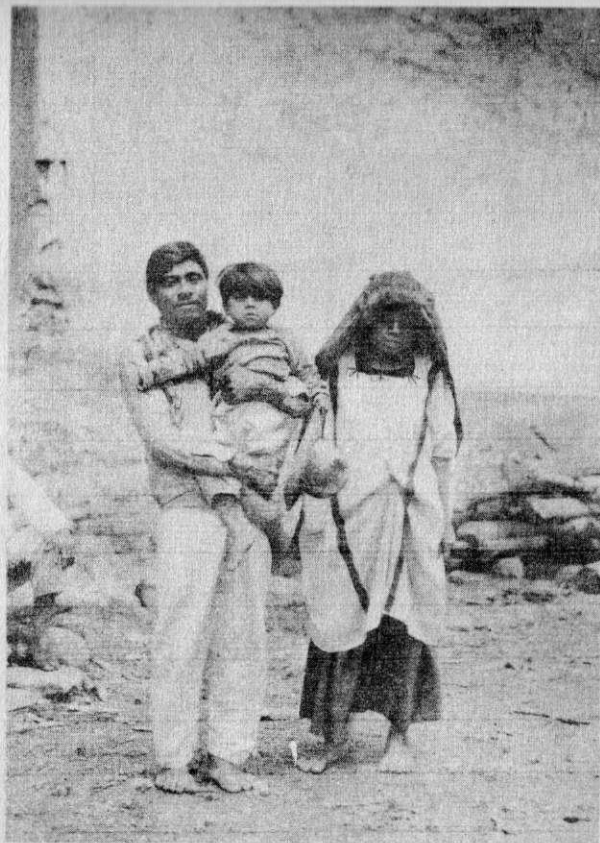
A very special feature of the Chinantec costume is the manner in which the women dress their hair. Among the Wah-mi, the hair is wound in a roll or pig-tail round the crown of the head and across the forehead. To make the hair shinier and blacker, they apply to it a grease called **Pixtle**, made from the seed of *mammee* and smelling deliciously like almonds! Children are made to wear their hair in two long pig-tails, each bound tightly all the way down with pink or red wool. It may well be that these methods of dressing the hair are survivals on a reduced scale of the great black or red woolen head-dress known as the **Rodete** and still worn among the Mije and by the Zapotec of Yalalag.

#### CUSTOMS AND COSTUME.

As to the Chinantec men, their costume, save in one or two villages, differs in no respect from that of the Inditos in almost any part of Mexico—a shirt, originally white, hanging loosely outside wide pyjama-like trousers. Sarapes are rarely worn or possessed, the climate rendering them almost unnecessary. The few seen by us were all of Oaxaca manufacture. In Petlapa, the men carry over one shoulder a cotton scarf, not unlike a napkin, but striped in black and orange-yellow. In many other villages of the Wah-mi we noticed that men would wear, in place of hats, a red handkerchief or bandana round the forehead. It may or may not represent a badge of office such as *alcalde*, police or *topil*. Velasco, speaking of the Chinantec in the District of Tuxtepec, said that bachelors wear a handkerchief in place of a hat, but the truth of the matter probably is that since a straw hat does not stand up to the Chinantec climate and that they do not make straw hats in the region, those who insist on a head covering, wear the bandana. At Quetzalapa, a red homespun cotton scarf is sometimes worn, and, at Santiago Tlapepusco, its place is taken by a black scarf, worn, it would seem, exclusively by the older men. In the remaining villages, the red or pink bandana predominates, and the villagers look like a band of pirates. With no stretch of the imagination could it be said that the Chinantec men are as decorative as their women-folk!







68. R. J. W.

The Presidente Municipal, with his wife and child, at Ozumazin

Note the peculiar manner in which the rebozo is worn.



69. R. J. W.

A typical huipil from the Valle-Nacional



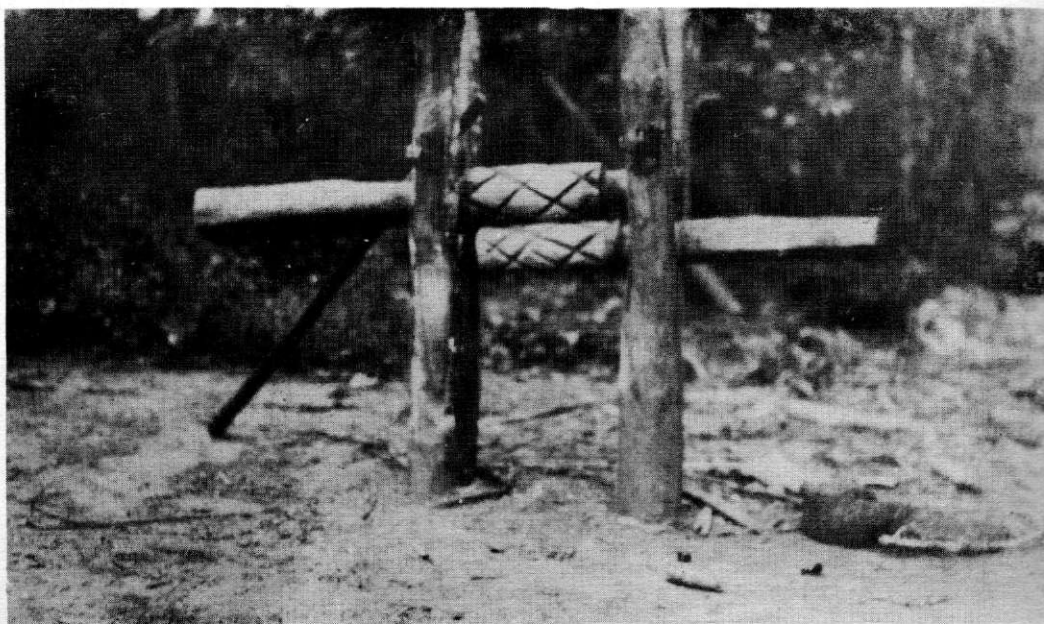
PLATE 32



70.—R. J. W.

**At Ozumazin**

The huipiles are of plain white cotton, but with collars and hems stitched chiefly in dark blue, with touches of red



71.—R. J. W.

**A Chinantec "trapiche" or sugar-grinder**

At El Cantarito, near Jocotepec. The "trapiche" is made entirely of wood. The cane is passed though between the rollers so that the juice extracted by pressure falls into a trough beneath.

## CHAPTER IX

### Chinantec Manuscripts

Among the most interesting and unexpected results of our expeditions into the region of the Wah-mi is the recovery of certain Chinantec manuscripts of religious content, which now form by far the largest collection known of writings in this language.

The scarcity of such writings need to be stressed. It appears that in Colonial times only one book was ever printed in Chinantec, and of this book, only one copy now survives. Recent inquiries in all the important museums and libraries of Europe and the United States have revealed to us no further specimen of printed or written work of any kind save the one 18th century manuscript in the National Museum, Mexico City, and the four (none earlier than the 19th century) in the Gates Collection. In the catalogue of this collection, sold in 1924, Dr. Gates claimed that the only Chinantec manuscripts known were those in his possession. Our discovery of a further thirteen, including two of the early 17th century, is therefore of no little interest.

It must, however, be stated at the outset that these manuscripts are primarily of antiquarian, not linguistic, value. They yield no clue to the mentality of the Chinantec, and do not form a trustworthy guide to the study of the language. We have no proof that (as was the case in the writing of other Indian languages) the priests did not invent or at least alter Chinantec words to suit their purposes, in fact it is reasonable to suppose they did alter and invent, since it is clear that such a language was not ideally suited to express the intricacies of Catholic doctrine and theology.

We have also to reckon with the extreme difficulties of the early translators in reducing the Chinantec language to the Latin alphabet. It is true they adopted phonetic aids in the form of signs and accents placed above or beneath the letters but, as we know from the writings of Burgoa, the difficulties of translation and mastery of the language for a long time appeared insurmountable, and judging from our own experience even with the aid of a highly developed system of phonetic spelling, it is clear that the early writers could not have written the Chinantec language with any degree of accuracy. Perusal of the Lord's Prayer and



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of a free translation from St Mathew, chapter 21, verses 1-9, (See pages . . . . . for both of which we possess the modern phonetic spelling, will show the striking differences between the language as now spoken, and as written in the past—, differences which however explained, furnish convincing proof of the dangers of relying upon such manuscripts for linguistic study.

It would appear that the evolution of the Chinantec language is very slow and that these differences of pronunciation are due neither to radical changes nor to variation of dialect in the villages, but to the fact that the original missionaries and those who copied the manuscripts found themselves unable to write the language as they heard it spoken.

We possess one dated Chinantec manuscript of the 18th century; one dated in the 19th, and two of comparatively recent authorship as proved by the paper and ink employed. The dates of the remainder must be guessed, —from internal evidence such as the type of script, the type of paper and its watermark, and the spelling of Spanish or Latin words found in the text.

Very little information may be gained in this respect from the actual content of the old books since we cannot yet translate those containing sermons upon the Articles of the Faith, etc., and those dealing with the Christian festivals consist merely of abridged versions of portions of the Offices for the day in question—, with free translations from the Gospels.

The dating of manuscripts written by or for the use of Indians in Mexico and Latin America generally, presents certain difficulties seldom encountered in the dating of European manuscripts of this epoch. The age of official documents such as title-deeds, grants of land, letters patent, etc., may be gauged with fair accuracy, in the rare instances in which they are not properly dated, but in ecclesiastical work the type of script changes not so much according to date as according to the Monastic Order and the particular monastery or convent in which the book or document was written, and in this connection, it must be added that besides books in Indian languages, choir-books, missals, etc., were still copied and illuminated by hand in Mexico during the 19th century.

Within each monastery a certain style of lettering would be employed and taught for perhaps several generations. This style was communicated to the Indians of the neighborhood who, teaching one another, would continue its use long after it had been abandoned in the monastery.

The Franciscans and Dominicans were particularly conservative in the type of lettering used in their manuscripts, and favored uncial script for the teaching of the Indians. Since most of the Indians were taught to write by one or other of these two Orders, it is usual to find, therefore, the majority of Indian-made manuscripts written in uncial or semi-uncial script.

True Dominican and Franciscan scripts as found in Mexico are clearer and neater than pure Indian work, and are decorated in typically European manner. Indian work is simpler and when decorated, it is found that the

designs are a strange travesty, —as if not properly comprehended—of the monastic type of ornament. Indian illuminated initials are therefore somewhat difficult to decypher... in contrast with the small letters which are clear and precisely executed. Moreover, there is in them no trace of the Arabic flourishes which distinguished so much of the Spanish writing just before and at the time of the Conquest.

Owing to the conservative teaching of the monasteries and to the teaching of Indians by other Indians, one often encounters a typically 16th century type of script in Indian documents of the 17th century, and a 17th century type in documents of the 18th century. In the case of the Chinantec, some of the 19th century manuscripts contain initials of a bastard 17th century Dominican style, and even in 20th century manuscripts is still found the old uncial and semi-uncial script fostered by the Dominicans.

Two of the manuscripts recently discovered among the Wah-mi and now in the Weitlaner Collection, namely a small Book of Sermons for Holy Week, from Lovani, and the second half of the *Libro de Sermones* from Lacova are written with a quill pen in perfect 16th century style, and probably date from the early sixteen hundreds. The leather binding of the latter work is undoubtedly of the 17th century and the watermark on the paper of the Book of Lovani is also of this date. It should be stated, however, that the date of the paper naturally does not furnish incontrovertible evidence that the book was written at the same time or even a few years later. A fragment found at Lalana, written with a steel pen and undoubtedly of the 18th century, possesses a watermark seen on Spanish paper as early as 1521 and apparently not in general use in Mexico after the early 17th century.

The book of Lacova, alluded to above, the largest and in part perhaps the oldest Chinantec manuscript hitherto discovered, contains sermons or moral lessons. Thirty-six in all, they were evidently intended to be read by the priest, or during his absence by the fiscal (See page...

...) on each Sunday in the year at which no important festival was to be celebrated as well as on certain days when the particular teachings contained therein seemed most applicable. There are three sermons upon the Commandments and thirteen (of which three are missing) upon the Sacraments of the Church. The first seventeen sermons in the book concern the fourteen Articles of the Faith which, according to the practise of the Church in Mexico, are divided into the *Articulos de la Divinidad* which deal with the Divine Nature of Christ, and the *Articulos de la Humanidad* which deal with the Human Nature of Christ.

Two out of the three copies in our possession of the Sermons for Holy Week contain not only the readings from the Gospels appointed for these days but the sermon relating to the third *Articulo de la Humanidad*, which Article refers to the Death and Passion of Our Lord suffered for our redemption. It is natural that this sermon be read as a prelude to the full story of the Crucifixion unfolded at this time, but it was of par-



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ticular interest and not a little surprising to find that during the Holy Week services at Lacova which we attended, this same long sermon relating to the third Article and found in the earliest Chinantec manuscripts, was still read and revered. In other words, not only is the service in this region still conducted in Chinantec, —in itself a remarkable survival—but the practise initiated by the early missionaries of incorporating for the benefit and instruction of the Indians special sermons within the Offices, still endures.

In addition to the sermons above mentioned, the Book of Lacova contains a portion of the Gospel, (St. Luke 21, verse 25. et seq.) appointed to be read on the first Sunday in Advent, and certain excerpts from Genesis 1 and 2, the story of the Creation, which form the First Prophecy in the Office for Holy Saturday. In neither of these instances, however, nor in the excerpts from the Gospels found in the manuscripts cited below, do we find wholly direct and unabridged translation from the Scriptures. The translators omitted certain verses in order to simplify the story and render it easily intelligible to the Indians, and it would appear that with the same object they also interpolated verses from Gospels other than that mentioned in the chapter heading. Although unable to translate word for word these Chinantec texts, we may guess this not only from comparison with manuscripts in other and known Indian languages but from the fact that the Latin words used here and there in the Chinantec versions do not always follow precisely the order of those same words in the Latin original, while again, the intervals between those recognizable words are often too long or too short to correspond. Personal names are altered and sometimes drawn from the accounts in other Gospels, —or if confusing to the story, are omitted altogether. All these facts show with what care the early missionaries instructed the Chinantec and how they made allowances for their understanding, but they also render our attempts to translate from the old Chinantec texts liable to numerous errors.

In the Weitlaner Collection, we have three copies of the Sermons for Holy Week, containing free translations from the Gospels appointed for these days. Of these three copies, one is the early 17th century manuscript from Lovani; another, coming also from Lovani, is dated 1852; and the third, found at El Arenal but written, it would seem, at "San Jacinto Yabelosog", is dated 1741.

One would expect to find considerable differences of phraseology and sequence of words in books written at such wide intervals of time, but the most noticeable feature of these three manuscripts is their remarkable similarity. The phraseology and sequence of words is almost identical in all three versions, and, moreover, the differences of spelling are practically negligible, so much so that the salient disparity between the texts lies in the division or breaking up of the words;— a difference we may attribute not to dialectic variation or the lapse of time, but to the individual caprice of the scribes.



72.—B. B.

The wife of "Chico" Gabriel of Lalana, beating cotton preparatory to spinning. The cotton is used not only for weaving garments but for the wicks of candles,



73.—I. W.  
An old lady spinning at Toabela

The cotton is bound onto the distaff with grass. A wooden "malacate" or spindle-whorl is used.



PLATE 34



74. R. J. W.

**Weaving huipiles at Chiltepec**

The hand-loom employed by the Chinantec is very similar to that used in other regions. The finest huipiles are woven at Chiltepec, in the Valle-Nacional, and in the western Chinantec area, notably at Usila.



75.—

**Personnel of the Expedition**

Left to right: R. J. Weitlaner, Miss Irmgard Weitlaner, Bernard Bevan, Mr. and Mrs. James A. Sturken and Antonio Gutiérrez.

#### CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS.

Such differences as occur are, with but few exceptions, just those which would most naturally arise in the copying of one work from another, —letter by letter rather than word by word, or, particularly in the more recent manuscripts, from dictation. The same similarity may be observed in our three versions of the Creed and in three of our four versions of the Lord's Prayer, each from a different village. Only in that from San Pedro Yolox, situated far away in the Western Chinantla, is there an appreciable difference. The variation of dialect or rather in the manner of writing the Chinantec language in the Wah-mi manuscripts and the Yolox book is indeed profound—, so much so that we discovered no-one in the Western Chinantec area who could understand a word of the Wah-mi manuscripts shown to him, nor, in fact, were these ever recognized by the Western Chinantec as written in their own language.

Leaving this question aside, as outside the scope of this work, we may infer from the close similarity between the Wah-mi texts that these manuscripts are not only written in one dialect and hail from one comparatively small district, but perhaps originate from one source—, a conglomerate work by the early missionaries.

The script in the earliest works we possess is typically Indian, and the initials, where decorated, are somewhat primitive copies of the Dominican, while the Latin titles and quotations within the text are too inaccurate to have been written by the *frailes* or the secular priests themselves. Hence we cannot regard any of these manuscripts as an original translation.

Apart from the above evidence, the scarcity of alterations in the later copies proves that our earliest text was already accepted as final.

It will be noted that in all these texts very few words are employed and that consequently of certain words there is marked repetition. It is possible that we owe this to the small vocabulary of the early translators, or to the scarcity of Chinantec words which could be conveniently turned to express Christian ideas, or to the Indians themselves, who, in their reverence for an established text, however inadequate, did not countenance alterations.

Taking all these points into consideration; —the fact that our manuscripts are not original translations but form a text accepted through the ages although perhaps inadequate from the very start—, it is not improbable that the original text of these manuscripts is of very early date—written by missionaries imperfectly acquainted with the language, during the time of the conversion of the Chinantec in the second half of the 16th century. Perhaps, even, they are the work of Fr. Francisco de Saravia, of which Beristain, writing shortly before 1816, said *Aún se usa*.

Further evidence to support the theory of an early date for the original of these texts is seen in the numerous accents... aid to pro-



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nunciation... found in the early manuscripts and absent in the later ones. It would seem that such aids to pronunciation were very important when our first manuscripts were written, but were unnecessary when the language was better understood.

In concluding this chapter, a word must be added to explain how the modern phonetic transcription was obtained of the Lord's Prayer as given in Nicolas de la Barreda's work, published in 1730. Upon our expedition to the Western Chinantec in 1936, we brought with us a copy of the 1910 reprint of this book. At San Juan Quiotepec, a woman, unable to speak a syllable of Spanish, kindly consented to recite to us the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and **Ave María**. With the Barreda **Doctrina Christiana** open before us, we checked her words, and it was soon evident that the two versions were identical save for slight dialectic variation due to our taking the modern pronunciation in Quiotepec and not in Yolox!

After a suitable translation had been given by an interpreter, our first informant recited to us some eight pages from the book—, word for word with meticulous accuracy. She herself could not read: she had learned the **Doctrina** from her father who died more than twenty years ago! Could further proof be needed of the value of Nicolas de la Barreda's work and of the twenty years of labor in which he accomplished it?

TEXTS FROM  
CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS





# The Lord's Prayer.

- Version 1. From El Arenal; 20 th century manuscript. (Ms. No. 15).  
 Version 2. From Teotalcingo; 20 th century manuscript. (Ms. No. 14).  
 Version 3. From unidentified Wah-mi village; 18th century manuscript in the National Museum. (Ms. No. 6).  
 Version 4. From San Pedro Yolox; Doctrina Christiana by N. de la Barreda, 1730.  
 Version 5. Phonetic transcription of Version 4, obtained at San Juan Quiotepec, 1936.  
 Version 6 Translation made at San Juan Quiotepec.

---

(1). Nô	nea	chazi	chánno	quallillán	qualiñin	ellachinnó.
(2). No	náé	chazi	channo	qualillan	quali ñin	ella chino
(3). No	neáé	chazichanno.		qualillan	qualiñin.	Ellachinno.
(4). Phui	ñuhu nah	nujui		quinno,	qualin cuiá	hela xino,
(5). Pi	nyüh /ná á	nyüh	pú	kii <sup>h</sup> nú	kúá li kuai	lă si!nyö
(6). Supreme	Father Our,	in the skies;	art thou	blessed as	thou ait called.	
	Being, God.					

---

(1). qua	heánea	hua	múa	quiannó.	qualli	calla	li án	calla	lizi
(2). qua	heanea	hua	múa	quian no.	qualicalla		lián	ca	llalizi
(3). qua	heanea,	hua	Mua	quiannoo,	quali		callalian		callalizi
(4). qua	ehe nah	ñujui		quiehe.	quali	he	li hahá	muy	cuila.
(5). kúa	/ná	nyû	pú	kii <sup>h</sup>	kuá	líá	é	lě	ó <sup>o</sup>
(6). give	us	heaven	thine		let	be	done	thy	will
								in	this world

---

(1). ro	haba	ca	llá	qualihui	muiguila	Cuihba	nea
(2). ro	haba	callaqua		li	hui	muiguila,	Cuiba
(3). Ro	habacalla.			qualihui	muiguiba,	Luihbanea,	
(4). jabalajna	ñujui:			qua	ehe	hi nah	chahá
(5). hâ	lă	hố	nyû	pú <sup>h</sup>	kú	é <sup>h</sup> li <sup>h</sup> /ná	tă
(6). as	in the	skies		give	to us	tortillas.	to-morrow
							and after
							to-morrow



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(1). enea	quianeá eá eá,	cuerani quian	quiba án tea
(2). enea	quia nea éá éá	cue ra ni quian	quiaba án tea
(3). Enea	quiáneo éáéá	...rani quia	quiabaan tea
(4). tan	ihno chaaqui	quíee nah, canjia	la in nah
(5). tiñ	nũh tá kĩ	kii/nu/nă kô hie	lă   é iũ /nă <sup>a</sup>
(6) and forgive	our great sins	as we ourselves	forgive

(1). caba zaqui	quiánea	calla rillezirá chiyza y fhua ymea	
(2). caba zaqui	quirrá	calla ri lē zira chi y zae fhua emea	
(3). caba zacui	quianēa	calla rilezinēa, chiyza fhuea ē mea	
(4). chazaquiun	quianr nah.	tanza tonno nah qũehi vi chaaqui:	
(5) ʔă să kiũih	kiă nũh /nă <sup>a</sup>	sa tiũ /nă <sup>a</sup> kũũ	bii kia ʔă ki
(6) those that falter	in our presence	do not leave us crying	for our sins.

(1). quia nea	arito quaronea lla arizaçirá	ella y quia
(2). quia	ári to qua ro nealla áriz a cira	ellea y quia
(3). quiánea	A-ugaron..... zaçira	ella y quia
(4). quimi nah	phui Dios	geila he za quiu
(5). kii /nă	pi Dios	ke lá ẽ să kiõ
(6). send us away	o Lord	from all devilries

(1). nea qui qá llábanea	roñi lla	hui ea chu.
(2). y quia neaquirrá lla hanea	roñilla	hui ea chu.
(3). .....		
(4). .....		
(5). .....		
(6). .....		

(1). Qualillá	Jesús.
(2). Qualilla	Jesús.
(3). Qualilla	Jesús.
(4). Qualibalajna	Jevs.
(5). kũa líã lă hã.	Jesus
(6). Thus it is.	Jesus

TEXTS FROM CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS

The Creed.

Version 1. From El Arenal; 20th century manuscript. (Ms. No. 15).

Version 2. From Teotacingo; late 19th or early 20th century manuscript. (Ms. No. 14).

Version 3. From San Pedro de Yolox; Doctrina Christiana by N. de la Barreda, 1730.

- 
- |                      |           |                 |           |       |        |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-------|--------|
| (1). Lázazin         | Dios mi   | rohuilih        | Ychá Ylih | Ygui  | meazí  |
| (2). Lazaza zin      | Dios, mij | rohui lij       | y chaylij | hihui | mea zi |
| (3). Chachabachij na | Dios Mij  | geilaba li mea, | yba       | camea | nujui. |
- 

- |                |             |         |               |             |
|----------------|-------------|---------|---------------|-------------|
| (1). quian     | hui muigui, | quían   | zazazí        | Fhuirá      |
| (2). quian     | huimuigui   | la quia | zazázin       | fhuirá      |
| (3). tan camea | mui cui:    |         | chachaba chij | na phui nah |
- 

- |                    |          |          |                      |
|--------------------|----------|----------|----------------------|
| (1). Jesuchristo,  | ñaba ha  | yia ñaba | Fhuirá               |
| (2). Jesus Christo | ña ba ha | iya ñaba | fhuirá               |
| (3). Jesu Christo  | jamba    | jna      | Dios, jamba phui nah |
- 

- |                |         |          |        |        |          |                    |
|----------------|---------|----------|--------|--------|----------|--------------------|
| (1). yña calli | zán     | calliñon | yia ti | quia   | espíritu | santo ba quian     |
| (2). y ya gali | zangali | ñon      | ya ti  | quia   | Espíritu | Santo ba quian     |
| (3). Yba cale  | ñuhne   | ju tan   | gracia | quiaha | Espíritu | Santo, tan caganne |
- 

- |              |        |    |              |           |        |             |          |
|--------------|--------|----|--------------|-----------|--------|-------------|----------|
| (1). chanña  | ñó     | tu | Santa Maria  | caquisaba | muiña, | quihiva     | echí eví |
| (2). cha ña  | ño     | tu | Santa Maria  | caqua ba  | muin   | ñaqui hi ña | echievi  |
| (3). Xanujui | muinne |    | Santa Maria: | cangûinne | juahui | ju qui      | aha      |
- 

- |           |       |      |       |                           |             |
|-----------|-------|------|-------|---------------------------|-------------|
| (1). tali | gui   | quió | gánba | Poncio Pilato,            | gahanguaia  |
| (2). ta   | ligui | quio | ganba | Juez y chin Poncio Pilato | ga hanguaya |
| (3).      |       |      |       | poncio Pilato:            | cajanquaa   |
- 

- |            |    |        |          |     |        |                 |           |
|------------|----|--------|----------|-----|--------|-----------------|-----------|
| (1). cha   | za | cruz   | hunña    | ga  | añña   | gahyaia         | guiahui   |
| (2). chaza |    | cruz   | huin ña  | ga  | oñ ña  | ga hia ya       | quia hui, |
| (3). ni    |    | Cruze, | cajonnè, | tan | channe | can gna nyajui. | nne       |



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- (1). muigati ti mu' guihi cuicaña he lizahun ga canñazzí  
 (2). muiga tini muigui hi cui caña heza hunga can ña cham  
 (1). mui cagnijh quiani chajon cangaane ñuijui, tan huiaá
- 

- (1). caquaheania guahyaha Dios mi róhuilih. ni hearoa  
 (2). ga gua ean ña gua hia ha Dios mij rohuji li niri hea ya  
 (3). quaa cha Dios Mij geilaba li mea calaterà nij jhea
- 

- (1). ri quió yatá quiá zahi quiatá quia zahun quiá zazazí  
 (2). riuio ñataquia zahi quian quia za hunquia za zá zin  
 (3). jhea quia quenta geilancha xan, tan chajon. Chachabachij
- 

- (1). Dios Espíritu Santo llacuilla chachanna mui Y qua llan  
 (2). Dios Espíritu Santo La cui Lacachan tean ñamui y guallan  
 (3). na Dios Spiritu Santo: chachabachij na
- 

- (1). y quañin chinñateanña Santa Yglecia Católica eyuhó  
 (2). y gua ñam chin teon ña Sancta Iglecia Catolica e ló ho  
 (3). Santa Iglesia Catholica: chachabachij
- 

- (1). cafhueva li quianña llanña eciqui eñón emūanza llacui  
 (2). ca fhue ba liquian ña llan ña egi zaqui eñonemūan zalla cui  
 (3). na he cuhu geilan Santos: chachabachij nah inle chaaqui;
- 

- (1). rihicui cálla huienza hunlla caquaba rinearáyá  
 (2). ri hi cui cagu tun llahuinli zahunla caqua bari nea raya  
 (3). chachabachij na gotan nah jna tno ni gnij: chachabachij
- 

- (1). yahibará chazini ericue fhuirá Jesuchristo Qualillá Jesús  
 (2). riya hinba racha zineri cue fhuirá Jesuchristo. Qualilla Jesús  
 (3). na xaba gnijj geila muiba Qualibalajna Jesus

Portion of a Sermon dealing with The Creation.

Version 1 From the early 17th century Book of Laçova. (Ms. No 7.)

Version 2. From the early 17th century Manuscript of Lovani. (Ms. No. 8)

Version 3 From the Lovani. manuscript dated 1852. (Ms. No. 9.)

- (1) .....  
 (2). SABATO. S. PASCHE. Sermon de la Creacion del mundo. Gñ. capit. Primus.  
 (3) SABATOS PASCHE. Sermon de la Creacion del mundo. Gni capit Primus.

- (1). In principio creavit deus celum et teram. gene j. ca  
 (2). Im principio creauit Deus celum e terram.  
 (3). Im Principio Creavi Deus celum eterram.

- (1). Nahaennaẽ haba ho enorala aní. cala etachi yilla yĩni, lac ho hua  
 (2) Nahaennaẽ haba etachi yilla yĩnila hola e liy  
 (3). Nahaennaé haba etachi yilla Yĩnila hola eliy

- (1). emuigafhuala. Zaifhua hua mi quian na, Rohearo muiñi  
 (2). e Zaifhua haba enuräla ani. Zaifhua huami quiannä. Muiñi mui Valiro  
 (3). ezaifhua haba enurala ani, Zaifhua huami quianna. Muiñi mui valiro

- (1). muinali gui chaliuh fhura dios chazi ño huigui: quia huihe muigui  
 (2). rohealiro guimali fhurä dios chazi. quia hui muigui,  
 (3). rohealiro guimali fhura dios chazi quia huimui gui.

- (1). ñi guala hachiliara riliñira haennaẽ chimicala  
 (2). Lacui ha chiliarä riliñirä chinarä rilitinurä nahaennaẽ ricalla:  
 (3). Lac. hachiliarä riliñirä chinarä rilitinurä nahaennaẽ ricalla



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- (1). mui, guima muiliuh fhuira ñi quian na Lahui enará q.a eanara
- (2). muiguima muili fhuirä dios Lahui enará quia Lahui eanará
- (3). muiguima muili fhuirä dios Lahui enará qa Lahui eanara

- (1). chimi cala muiliyin muiliba lahuili, lac muiga huen ana na yañi
- (2). ri calla muilivin muililla Lahui hazemuigui nubarä rohearo
- (3). ricalla muiliuin muililla Lahuihaze: mui guineobarä rocaliro

- (1). ño ynli amua hafhua eguicha egali fhuirä dios, lac vilazali, la
- (2). ño inli echaeli, quia Laqui elarina
- (3). ñoinli echali eli quia lac elarina

- (1). chuli rita arä hola, cac lizin rihuen nana,
- (2). cha ârä hula ani elizin rihuenña ña quia elizin rigua Vuen
- (3). chaârä hula ani elizin rihuen nanä quia elizin riguayuen

- (1). zalirihuan Lac tinba taba rihuan tali arä
- (2). zaliri Venñanä: mui timba riliy ri zaifhua tahazebaarä
- (3). Zali rivennanä muitinba riliyri Zaifhua. tahazeba arä

- (1). Lac rii fhuirä ñi quianna dios rohuila gui chaya liya gui maya
- (2). Laqui rij mua fhuenli quianna dios la huili guima ya guichaya galiya
- (3). Lac. rij mua fhuenli quiannä dios lahuili guimayag guichaya galiya

- (1). Lahui, eae quian eaecon aha ega ca ya, aha e gui quin ña, ti
- (2). lahui to quiaya eae quianea eca cañin
- (3). lahui quiaya eaequian eaeca canin

- (1). muam ba ho hua quia ya, chi, mi calaba eguinorä muihea Gui man ña
- (2). muanba hu hua quiaya. Gui manbaya
- (3). muanba ho huaquiaya, Gui manbaya

TEXTS FROM CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS

- (1) la huin Angeles, quia guimaya la cam ño huigui, quia gui maya,  
 (2). lahuin Angeles. quia la can ño huigui, quia  
 (3). lahui Angeles. quia lacan ño huigui, quia
- 

- (1). liya muifhue, mui gan, mui ñi, quia gui man ña la huin ño,  
 (2). mui fhueli: quia guaräuera: mearanura quia lahuin ño  
 (3). muifhueli: quia guarä uera: meara nura, quia lahuin ño
- 

- (1). quia la huin tah, lahuin gu, quanora chura quia la huin  
 (2). quia la huinta: quia quanura:gara: hiura: qa lahuin  
 (3). quia la huinta: quia quanura:gara: hiura quia lahuin
- 

- (1). gūno yzaiyan ynanna quia  
 (2). haca chaniacui ihin ibuin ichiuegua ichue tyh inanna quia chambaia  
 (3). haca chanyac. ihin ibuin ichiuegua ichiuetyh inanna quia chambayae
- 

- (1). y anan na,Lac cañin ño mui ba guima ya liya la hui ela  
 (2). cui cazan iamuananna Lacui lahui ba guimaya lia no muiba. 6.  
 (3). cazan iamuananna. lac. lahuiba guimaya liya ño muiba. 6.



# The Story of the Crucifixion.

(freely translated from St Mathew, chapter 27).

Version 1. From Lovani; early 17th century manuscript. (Ms. No. 8).

Version 2. Found at El Arenal; from a manuscript dated 1741, from  
"San Jacinto Yabelosog". (Ms. No. 10.)

Version 3. From Lovani; a manuscript dated 1852. (Ms. No. 9.)

- (1). Ha chamba gui quian za Phuirä crüz ephueh eyhli eay riah,
- (2). Hachamba: gui quieanza fhuira Cruz efhue li eyili e aria
- (3). Hachamba gui quianza Phuirä Cruz efhueli eyhli eat riah

- (1). quian ña phuirä cruz ñonna gaceza heyunña gua-
- (2). quieaña fhuira mua guan cruz ñonña gaceza he yun fhuira gua
- (3). quiana phuirä cruz ña nonña gaceza hey unña gua

- (1). un zachaga tanza huighueli Jerusalem. Laçui phuiba gui mahi
- (2). inza chagatanza hui fhueli Gerusalem. Laçui fhuiba guima hi-
- (3). unza chagatan za hui phueli Jerusalem. Lac phuiba guima hi

- (1). hanza chin Simon Sirineo. yba Simon Caya cruz, quianña Phuirä.
- (2). han za chin Siymon Cyreneo. iba Simon caya cruz quieanña fhuira,
- (3). hanza chin Simon Sirineo. Yba Simon Caya Cruz, quianya Phuirä

- (1). Laçui mui mui gui cha tanña chu mua meä hui chin Golgota, Laçui
- (2). laçui mui guicha tanña cho mua mua hui chin Golgotha: laçui
- (3). Lac. mui mua guicha tan ña chumua méa hui chin Golgota, Lac

- (1). haba yu muaha, guyn za Phuirä, mahi, ehihaze quia â chi ñigili.
- (2). haba yomuaha, guynza Phuirä, mahi, echihaze quieañhachiñigili.
- (3). haba yumuaha, guynza Phuirä mahi, echiha ze quia âh chinigili,

TEXTS FROM CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS

- (1). Laçui muiga phuirä chihaze a erya. Hani gaham zagua Phuirä chaza
- (2). laçui muiga fhuira chini gi aeu, ya. Hani gahanza gua fhuira chaza
- (3). Lac. muiga Phuirä chi haze agra, Haniga hamza gua Phuirä chaza

- (1). crüz: gui chinza cuahya quamba Lamba: hato gui chagñi gui cha éh
- (2). cruz gui chinza quaia hato gui cha gñi guichae
- (3). Cruz: guichinza quaya quanba Lambaá: hato guichañi guichae

- (1). calla egui phua ProPheta David. Laçui rij y quia y hean, zaroñi
- (2). cala egui fhua Profeta David: La Cui rii, y quiea y zaroñi
- (3). Calla eguifhua Propheta David. Lac. rij y quia y hean, Zaroñi

- (1). Pilatos, eaya cayn chiue ella ritaroô Phuirä muiri han gua phuirä
- (2). Pilatos eaia cain chiue elarita roo fhuira: muirihan gua fhuira
- (3). Pilatoz. eaya cayn chiue ellaritaroô Phuirä mui ri hanguaya

- (1). chaza crüz. Ha calla la Zaiphua chiue ha, etaroô Phuirä: y la
- (2). chaza cruz: ha cala la zafhua chiue ha eta roo phuira. y la
- (3). chaza cruz, Ha callala Zaiphua chi ueha, etaroô Phuirä. Y la

- (1). Jesus Nazareno: mua quian Lahuin Judios. Laçui haba muiha änyh, y
- (2). Jesus Nazareno mua quiean lahúin Judios: HAbA muiha än i, y
- (3). Jesus Nazareno: muaquian Lahuin Judios. Lac haba muiha änyh y

- (1). quia gahan gua Phuirä, hechi chan Phuirä: Mua hanyh chi, hangua
- (2). quiea gahan gua fhuira he chi chan fhuira: mua han i chi hangua
- (3). quia gahangua Phuirä, he chichan Phuirä:

- (1). can Phuirä: hánguaya hia há hamguaia hiahä, Laçui mui mui gabaza
- (2). can fhuira: han gua ia yaha, han gua ia yaha, Laçui muimui gabaza
- (3). hanguaya hiahá ham guaya hiahä. Lac mui mui gabaza

- (1). mua ca ñitha gua Phuirä, ty Phuirä. Haguitanza crüz. Laçui
- (2). mua cañita gua fhuira ti fhuira, hagai chitanza cruz, laçui
- (3). muala ñitha gua Phuirä ty Phuirä haguichitânza cruz. Lac



REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

- (1). rij tan Lahuin Judios. mahalitanza mui. muiga han gua phuirä  
 (2). riitan lahuinza Judios, mahali tanza muimui gahan gua fhuira  
 (3). lahuintâza Judios. mahalitanza muimui gahan gua Phuirä

- (1). ñoli evino emino. phua tanza, hani te â tanza, citanza Phuirä.  
 (2). ñoli evino emino fhua tanza hate atanza ciza fhuira  
 (3). Nôli evino emino fhuatanza, hanite atanza citanza phuirä,

- (1). Ni ro ani he ño quia Dios; hari çiro muiri ti ni mui. Quia  
 (2). Niro ani hero ño quiea Dios hari çiro muiri chani mui: quiea  
 (3). Niro ani heño quia Dios; hariçiro muiritinimui: quia

- (1). lacuilla muen chihalla, chiybanö ha Dios. guien za crüz ni.  
 (2). lacui llan uen chi ha la chi ibano ha Dios guin uen za cruz ni.  
 (3). lac. llam uen chihalla chiybano ha Dios guipuen za cruz ni.

- (1). Lacui la huin mua ty Judios: quia lahuin miza eanñi çintanña  
 (2). Lac. lahuin muati Judios, quiea lahuin miza eañi, çintanña  
 (3). Lac. lahuin muaty Judios: quia lahuin miza eam ñi, çintan ña

- (1). phua tanña cangin, tanña Phuirä. La ñirä ani Jesus la muiga han  
 (2). fhua tanña cangin tanña fhuira. Lañi rani Jesus, la mui gahan  
 (3). Phuatanña cangintanya, Phuirä. Lañira rani Jesus la muiga han-

- (1). guaya, Lacui y ia la chinlanña La huin zayn y âo narillan, Lacui rani  
 (2). gua ia la cui i ya la chin lanña lahuin zain y ao nariilan, lacuirani  
 (3). guaya, lac yia la chin lamña lahuin zain y aonarillan. Lacrani

- (1). quallan ñaya qua hianñaya cha crüz qualizazirä chi eamba ha Dios  
 (2). qualanñaia, quayan ña cha cruz qualizazira chi eamba ha Dios  
 (3). quallan ñaya quahian ñaya cha cruz qualizazira chi eamba ha Dios

- (1). Lacui muigatin, chan mua mui chamba guineo llacan huihe muiguila:  
 (2). lacui mui gatin i, chan mua mui chamba guino lacan huihe muiguila:  
 (3). Lac. muigatin chan mua mui Chamba guineo lacan huihe muiguila:

TEXTS FROM CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS

- (1). callabaue chaneoli, callagati chaya muamui. Laçui ayac gati chaya
- (2). Calabaue channoli, Cala gati chaya muamui. Lac ayacui gati chaya
- (3). callabaue chaneó li, callagati cha ya muamui: lac ayac gati chaya

- 
- (1). muamui Quiolite phuirä phuaya. Heli heli Laba Sabani
  - (2). muamui, quiolite fhuira fhuia: Heli heli 'lama Sabac tani.
  - (3). muamui: Quiolite Phuirä Phuaya. Heli heli Laba Sabani

- 
- (1). Phuie phuie ñi quianna ê ñi quiannaê milla guitarona. La çui
  - (2). Zafhua fhuie, fhuie, ñi quieānae ñi quieanna mila guitaoro La çui
  - (3). Phuie phuie ñiquiannaé ñiquiannaé milla guitarona. Lac

- 
- (1). lahuin zanatanue, zayun zazinni mui ha: cachanza Phua za. ha qua
  - (2). lahuin zanatanue za yun zazinni hui ha: la chanza fhuaza, ha qua
  - (3). lahuintanza natahue, zayan zazin ni muiha. Cachamza Phuaza haqua

- 
- (1). Eliaste zala, Laçui chamba mui ha taliga quia hanza vinagre mea hi
  - (2). Heliaste zala: laçui chamba muiha, tali ga quia hanza Vinagre mahi,
  - (3). Elies te zala. Lac chamba muiha taliquiá hanza Vinagre meahi

- 
- (1). quia ziquaya echili, muitha gui chi chiza gui linza chaçi phuirä
  - (2). quiean zi qua ya e chili: muita gui chi chiza guilnza chaçi fhuira
  - (3). quia ziquaya echili, muitha guichichiza guillinza chaci Phuirä

- 
- (1). Hani phua cachatanza, amua e marä ti qua nān do ôrä, ayariguamba:
  - (2). Hani fhua ca chan tanza. Amuae mara ti qua nan dora, ayari guanba
  - (3). Hanphua cachatanza, amuaemeara ti quia nando orä, ayar guanba

- 
- (1). Elias yriguallao.
  - (2). Elias iri gualao,
  - (3). Elias yriguallao.



TEXTS FROM CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript Version and Phonetic Transcription

of

a Portion of the Office for Palm Sunday.

containing a free translation from St Mathew, Chapter XXI, verses

(From a late 19th century manuscript at Lalana.) (Ms. No 19.)

Dominica in Ramis Palmurun E Vangelium ex Matheun

capitulo 21.

In illo tempore cum appropinquasset Jesus JeruSalimis et  
remisset Bethpha he ad montem olivetistune missit Duos  
Discipulos dicens Ite in ca Stenillum quo contra vaset

Zai fhua huamiquiara

da hua hua mí kéra

Hiñigagi hearoa Iba fhui ra Jesuchristo muigaiahui

Hinyi gan ʔgû herô ʔ íba puíra Jesuchristo mûng ʔ huê

ni JeroSalen gaza Judios muiguicha ia mûigatinña

ne Jerusalem gōda Judios /mûe gi ʔó ya /mûe ga tinya

gahui Jerosalem hui minichin Bethphage camua chin

ʔgô ʔ hui Jerusalem hui mí nû sin Bethphage kōmō' sîn

TEXTS FROM CHINANTEC MANUSCRIPTS

monte Olibete ni ba guaro fhuira chanba guichin

Monte Olibete nê bă guêru huiră sênbă gi sí

fhuira anza matin quianña fhuaianiaro aniza

huíra handa mêtên kénya hué nya sô nya ruá da

guananna huimini guaheana han Laamui Asna

gua ne na' huî mî nă gua hená han lomúá<sup>h</sup> âsana

ninchiñun da quianhara gua chinnaroanda quiaña hanna

nê si nyû r̥ q̥ kiâ ho r̥ q̥ gua sină r̥ q̥ nyé hană

rala Lac. hachiiza mi gacina chiy zamigui Shua

l̥ q̥ la la kü háš̥ i da /mi gasü ně š̥ i i da /mi gi hua

quia fhuira navi huiraza chanbari quinza muirilila

ke huíra /nêri huíra da sênba' ri kîn da muê ɾe li lă

Iahui e la elila guicha e guichagñiguicha

ha hü<sup>h</sup> e lá e la giĵa é giĵa nyî giĵa

hian Calla egui fhua Propheta hearoa hani

iél kalá egi hua' Propheta haaru q̥ haně



REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

fhua fhui ra Dicite filie Sion Zaifhua chira hamue

huê huira Dicite filie Sion Da huê širă hō muê

Sion Lamui hea lamuiguan fhui ra zana Zaniba Zatan

Sione lō muê hē lō muê guēdin huira danō danūba datā

Zagñin balaamuir amiahubagua Zinia Ibara quia

da nyi<sup>n</sup> ba lō muê rō me hū ba gue dinya íberō kia<sup>?</sup>

quianhara Calla egui fhua Prophetas hearoa llac.

kia<sup>?</sup> hōró kálá égi huā Prophetas hē ro o<sup>?</sup> la kü

chanba muiha gan nantan Za matin quian ña

sēn ba muê hō<sup>n</sup> guē nen te da mētēn kénia

guichiba tan Zata egui fhua fhui ra Jesuxpto:

gi ší ba te dātá egi hue<sup>?</sup> huira Jesuchristo:

Gua hanba tanza laamui ra maho quian hara:

X guehēn ba tē dā lō muē rō mē hū kiā hā rō

Mui gua hanzara ha chanba guitazi cuatan ña

X muê gue huēn da rō sēnba gitā dī kuā té nya

ñi ca laa hani guita zintanza fhui ra ñi cara

X nyi kō lô hanē gete dīnte da huira nyi kō<sup>?</sup> rō

REPORT ON THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN CHINANTEC REGION

ebila guanno hua quia Dios Laus tibi Christi.

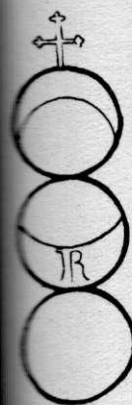
ebila guenó hwa kě Dios Laus tibi Christi.

The Same Passage in Latin.

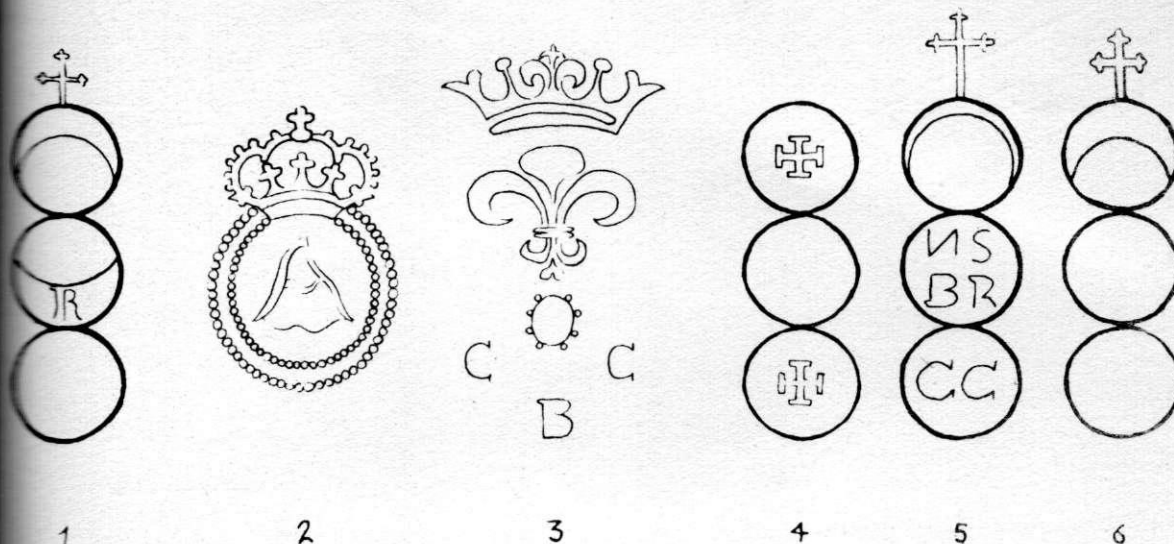
Dominica in Ramis Palmurum. Evangelium ex Matheum. Capt. 21.

In illo tempore: Cum appropinquasset Jesus Jerosolymis, et venisset Bethphage ad montem Oliveti: tunc misit duos discipulos suos, dicens eis: Ite in castellum, quod contra vos est.

In illo tempore: Cum appropinquasset Jesus Jerosolymis, et venisset Bethphage ad montem Oliveti: tunc misit tunc misit duos discipulos suos, dicens eis: Ite in castellum quod contra vos est. et statim invenietis asinam alligatam, et pullum cum ea: solvite, et adducite mihi: et si quis vobis aliquid dixerit, dicite, quia Dominus his opus habet, et confestim dimittet eos. Hoc autem totum factum est, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per Prophetam, dicentem: Dicitie filiae Sion: Ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus, sedens super asinam et pullum filium subjugatis. Euntes autem discipuli, fecerunt sicut praecepit illis Jesus. Et adduxerunt asinam, et pullum: et imposuerunt super eos vestimenta sua, et eum desuper sedere fecerunt. Plurima autem turba straverunt vestimenta sua in via: alii autem caedebant ramos de arboribus, et sternebant in via: turbae autem, quae praecedebant, et quae sequebantur, clamabant, dicentes: Hosana filio David: benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini.







76.—B. B.

**Watermarks in old Chinantec Manuscripts.**

1 from the "Book of Lacova" (Ms. No. 7), late 17th century; 2. from the same book, early 17th century; 3 & 4, from the "Book of Lovani" (Ms. No. 8), early 17th century; 5. from the "Book of San Jacinto Yabelosog" (Ms. No. 10), dated 1741; 6. from a fragment found at Lalana (Ms. No. 11), dating from the 18th century.

77.—B. B.

...da: ciya Lahuin Judios. Laacuirij phuirã jesu xpo.  
...muli tanna ha Chambayia Phui ganantanna q

78.—B. B.

...vima chi caza hua in quia riza zaza la,  
...quia quio in hua ni ean Articulo quia riza

**Chinantec Manuscripts**

Examples of uncial and semi-uncial script from the Books of Lacova and Lalana, dating from early in the 17th century